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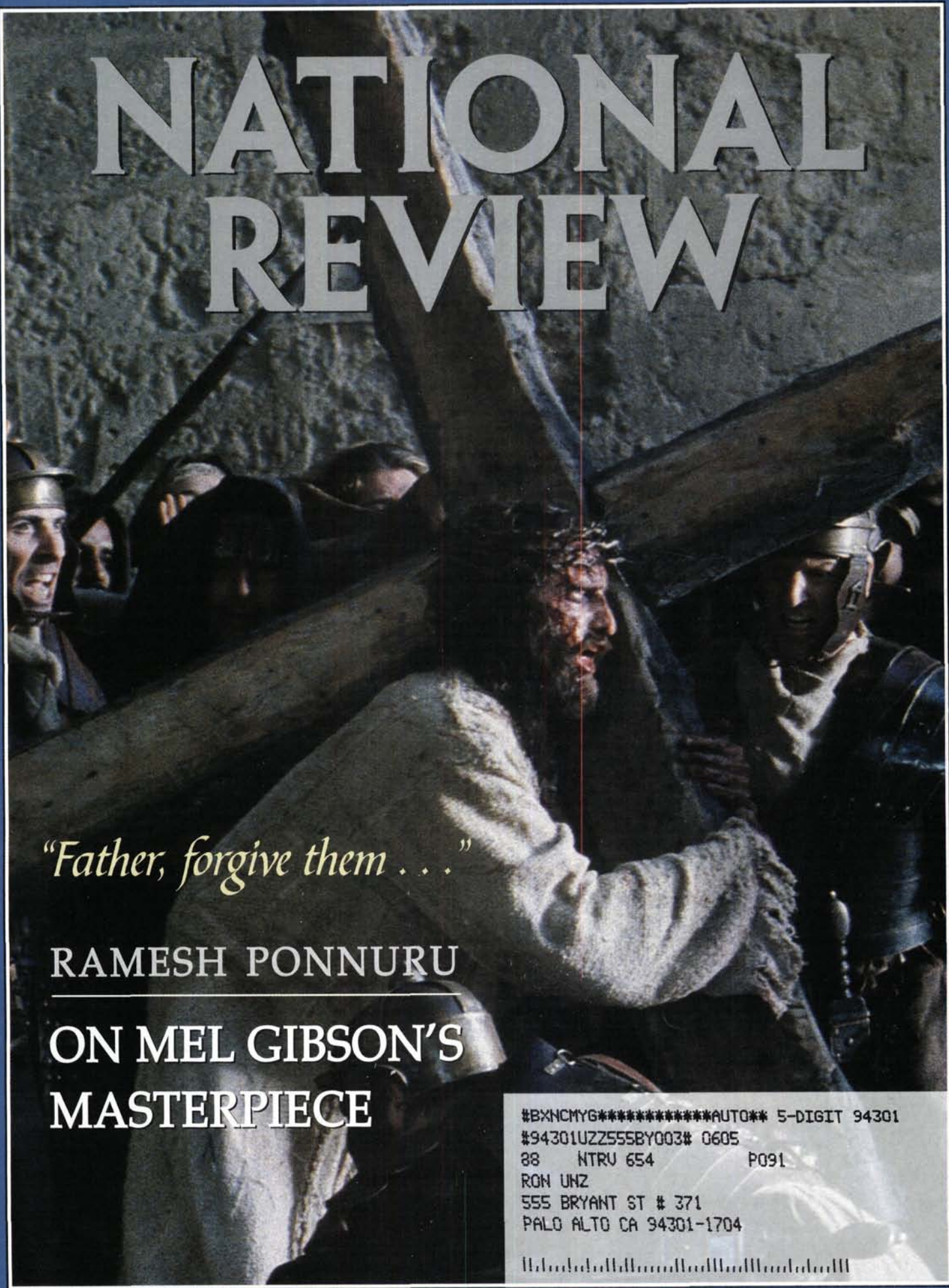

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MARCH 8, 2004 VOL. LVI, NO. 4

NATIONAL REVIEW

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■ COVER STORY

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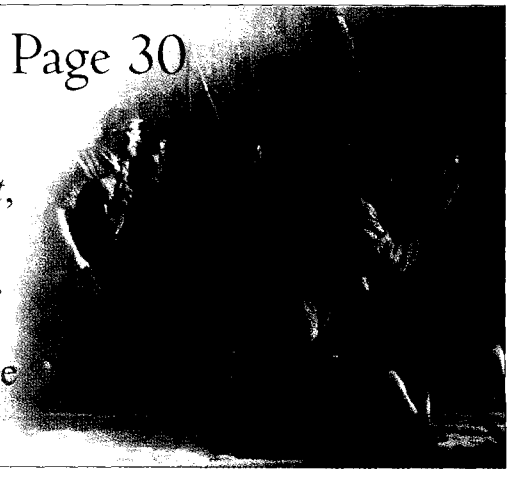
A Movie and Its Meaning

By the fifteenth minute of *The Passion of the Christ*, Jesus's right eye has swollen nearly shut. It stays that way for the next two hours. It is a brutal movie. From the very beginning the punches are real. The violence is not cool or "balletic." This is not a movie that will sell popcorn. *By Ramesh Ponnuru*



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letters to the editor

PASSION PROBLEMS

In his column on Mel Gibson's *Passion of the Christ*, William F. Buckley Jr. suggests that Jewish concerns that the film could legitimize anti-Semitism through its depiction of Jews were "incautious" ("On the Right," Feb. 23). He goes on to say that he is not aware of any statement where Hitler used the deicide charge to promote the goals of his murderous regime.

In fact, Hitler did talk about the Jews after viewing one of history's most damaging depictions—the Oberammergau Passion Play—in 1934. Hitler said of the play, "It is vital that the Passion play be continued at Oberammergau; for never has the menace of Jewry been so convincingly portrayed as in this presentation of what happened in the time of the Romans. There one sees Pontius Pilate, a Roman racially and intellectually so superior that he stands out like a firm, clean rock in the middle of the whole muck and mire of Jewry."

Jewish concerns about Passion plays stem from their sordid role in the history of the Jewish people. For centuries in Europe, sermons blaming the Jews for the death of Jesus led to violence and pogroms against Jewish communities. There are Holocaust survivors who can vividly recall their families having to hide in the basement in order to avoid the wrath of Christians emerging from Easter Sunday services.

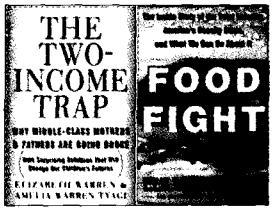
Abraham H. Foxman
Anti-Defamation League
New York, N.Y.

WFB REPLIES: *I stand corrected.*

FAST-FOOD FAMILIES

In the Jan. 26 issue, an important point is suggested by the juxtaposition of two book reviews: "Rediscovering the Family," about *The Two-Income Trap*, and "The Fat Police," about *Food Fight*. It is, namely, that the "obesity epidemic" is more than partially caused by the advent of the two-income family. It takes time to plan, shop for, cook, eat, and clean up after healthy meals, time that parents in two-income families simply don't have. Junk food is marketed to children on TV, which they are watching because their working parents, again, don't have time. The processed-food industry didn't develop in a vacuum, and now one or two generations have had their tastes defined by that industry, and would find it difficult to "go back" to good eating habits.

These are but generalizations, though my personal experience backs them up. I am a stay-at-home mom, and I have always tried to provide healthy meals made from scratch. I have also trained my older daughters to cook this way. And we don't watch network TV. None of this, however, means that all of us wouldn't just as soon eat out. And why not? It tastes good! It takes discipline for us to eat most of our meals at home—discipline, and the time and desire to prepare nutritious food.



There are no black and white answers—but understanding why we do what we do is the first step to solving the problem.

Lisa Schuttger
Canton, Tex.

TRACING THE X

I wanted to clear up the misperception—which appeared in William Wolf's letter in the Jan. 26 issue—that we use the term "Xmas" to save letters. This is not a "disrespectful habit of our times." Rather, the X in "Xmas" is actually the Greek letter chi, the first letter in the Greek "Christ." The term "Xmas" has been used for hundreds of years in religious writings, along with "Xtians" (Christians) and other such shortenings. This practice originated over 1,000 years ago, when Scripture had to be copied and recopied by hand. Abbreviations such as these were common. No disrespect to Christ was meant then, and I don't think that most people mean to disrespect Him now.

Meghann Campos
Littleton, Colo.

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Penny Wise and Dollar Foolish

The Administration's top economists now claim that the outsourcing of America's service jobs is good for the U.S. economy. They say that consumers benefit when low paid foreign workers, operating overseas, provide America its software, engineering, architectural, data management, finance, and radiological services.

In the 2004 Economic Report of the President, the Council of Economic Advisors also maintains that consumers benefit when lower-priced foreign made imports replace domestically manufactured goods. The Council projects that the U.S. economy will create an additional 2.6 million new jobs this year.

We think the Council is wildly wrong in its trade positions, even in its numbers.

Specifically, the Council's economists predicted that the United States economy would gain 3 million jobs in 2002. But it lost 400,000. They predicted the U.S. would create an additional 1.7 million jobs in 2003. It lost 147,000.

America's job problem is linked not with the competitiveness of U.S. business and workers, but with U.S. trade policies that actually encourage the export of U.S. jobs and production.

The linkage between jobs and trade is clear. Lower paid foreign workers are now doing the work once done by Americans. That work is reflected in the excess of U.S. imports over U.S. exports. This is the root of America's job losses.

The U.S. Department of Commerce, for example, has long reported that each $1 billion of traded goods represents 10,000 or more jobs. Is it surprising, therefore, that the U.S. lost almost 3 million manufacturing jobs over the past three and a half years, as its goods trade deficit rose to more than $480 billion annually?

The loss of manufacturing jobs, moreover, rips through the economy like a tidal wave. Specifically, the Commerce Department's Bureau of Economic Analysis reports that each dollar created by manufacturing multiples itself 2.2 times as it flows through the economy.

Among the beneficiaries are workers and companies in finance, insurance, and real estate services. Construction, transportation, communications, and utilities also benefit, as does mining and agriculture.

But multipliers also work in reverse. Goods made in foreign factories by penny-wage workers generate little U.S-based construction, create no demands for worker housing, need few utilities and communications, and most often carry their own finance and insurance.

The Council on Economic Advisors is correct in that low-cost foreign imports save consumers a little money. But those savings are coming at the cost of the larger economy - the loss of the U.S. manufacturing sector and all else that it supports.

If ever the U.S. had an economic policy that was penny wise and dollar foolish, U.S. trade policy today is it.

We think keeping manufacturing and service jobs in America matters.

What do you think?

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for the record

"I'm getting worried—television doesn't disgust me like it used to."

■ In Fox News poll, President **Bush** tops Sen. **John Kerry**, 47 percent to 43 percent. . . . Bush, on the election, on *Meet the Press*: "I'm not going to lose." . . . More Bush: "It's fine to go after me, which I expect the other side will do. I wouldn't denigrate service to the [National] Guard, though . . . because there are a lot of really fine people who served in the National Guard and who are serving in the National Guard today in Iraq." . . . Bush in Springfield, Mo.: "There are some in Washington that are going to say, 'Let's not make the tax cuts permanent.' That means he's going to raise your taxes." . . . Secretary of defense **Donald Rumsfeld**: "I know in my heart and my brain that America ain't what's wrong with the world." . . . RNC chairman **Ed Gillespie** on Democrats: "They have made clear they intend to run the dirtiest campaign in modern presidential politics."

■ **Al Gore** attacks Bush on Iraq: "He betrayed this country! He played on our fears. He took America on an ill-conceived foreign adventure dangerous to our troops, an adventure preordained and planned before 9/11 ever took place." . . . **Jane Fonda**, on CNN: "Any attempts to link Kerry to me and make him look bad with that connection is completely false. . . . It's a bunch of hogwash." . . . Kerry in 1970 *Harvard Crimson* interview: "I'm an internationalist. I'd like to see our troops dispersed through the world only at the directive of the United Nations." . . . In same interview, Kerry also says he would like "to almost eliminate CIA activity." . . . Democratic chairman **Terry McAuliffe** on presidential candidates, in *New York Times*: "There is unity within our party; they are not going after each other." . . . **Howard Dean** on Kerry: "The front-runner for the Democratic nomination is a product of the sort of politically corrupt culture of Washington. . . . I think Kerry's going to be a weak nominee if he gets the nomination." . . . "If anybody tells you they wouldn't be interested in being vice president," says Sen. **John Breaux** (D., La.), in *New York Times*, "they're not telling you the truth."

■ Kerry on Bush and Iraq, in *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*: "If you were CEO of a company, you'd be fired immediately. The arrogance, and the sheer sort of, almost stupidity of it, is stunning." . . . Sen. **Zell Miller** (D., Ga.): "They don't know John Kerry's record. They haven't examined it. This is a very vulnerable candidate on several issues. . . . He is the Olympic gold medalist when it comes to special-interest money. I also think that he is very vulnerable on the issues of national security. . . . If you look at his voting record, it is terrible as far as it comes to national defense and helping fund a good intelligence unit." . . . Rep. **Steve Buyer** (R. Ind.), on CNN: "I don't think John Kerry handled his service very well. The proudest moments of my life [are] when I put on the uniform. . . . When John Kerry came home, he desecrated that uniform by taking his medals and throwing them. That is really unfortunate. So I can honor his service, but he can't run on a war record when his true record is an anti-war record."

■ In Rasmussen poll, 42 percent say Kerry is better than Bush on government spending and 33 percent say Bush. Among conservative voters, 53 percent prefer Bush and 21 percent pick Kerry. . . . In Virginia, Sen. **John Warner** (R.) embraces efforts by Gov. **Mark Warner** (D.) to raise state taxes. . . . Rep. **Jennifer Dunn** (R., Wash.) announces she won't run for reelection. . . . **Steve Forbes** endorses Rep. **Pat Toomey** (R.) in primary challenge to Sen. **Arlen Specter** (R., Pa.). . . . Rep. **Lynn Woolsey** (D., Calif.) urges judge in letter to issue lenient sentence for convicted rapist who is son of employee, then apologizes: "Given my outspoken support for both women's rights and victims' rights, my constituents and my community are right to be shocked by my action." . . . FCC chairman **Michael Powell**: "The now infamous display during the Super Bowl halftime show, which represented a new low in prime-time television, is just the latest example in a growing list of deplorable incidents over the nation's airwaves."

■ In U-Conn poll, 65 percent say Gov. **John Rowland** (R.) should resign. . . . In Sioux Falls *Argus Leader* poll, Sen. **Tom Daschle** (D., S.D.) leads GOP challenger **John Thune**, 50 percent to 43 percent. . . . In Gallup poll, 47 percent favor constitutional amendment banning gay marriage and 47 percent oppose. . . . Despite perceptions, Texas sentences smaller percentage of people convicted of murder to death than national average, according to *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*.

■ Former U.N. weapons inspector **Hans Blix**, in *New York Times*: "We Europeans cannot simply resist forceful action by the United States and leave it at that. We have to take positive action also. We have to push the United States to use international organizations to face threats to our common security." . . . **Muhammad Ismail Agha**, 15-year-old Afghan boy mistakenly imprisoned at Guantánamo Bay as terrorist suspect, on Americans, in *New York Times*: "I got something good from them—I can read and write."

■ **Jay Leno**: "Former president **Bill Clinton** won a Grammy in the spoken-word category. If you had told me a year ago that Bill Clinton would be a Grammy winner and that **Janet Jackson** would be the subject of a government sex investigation. . ." **NR**

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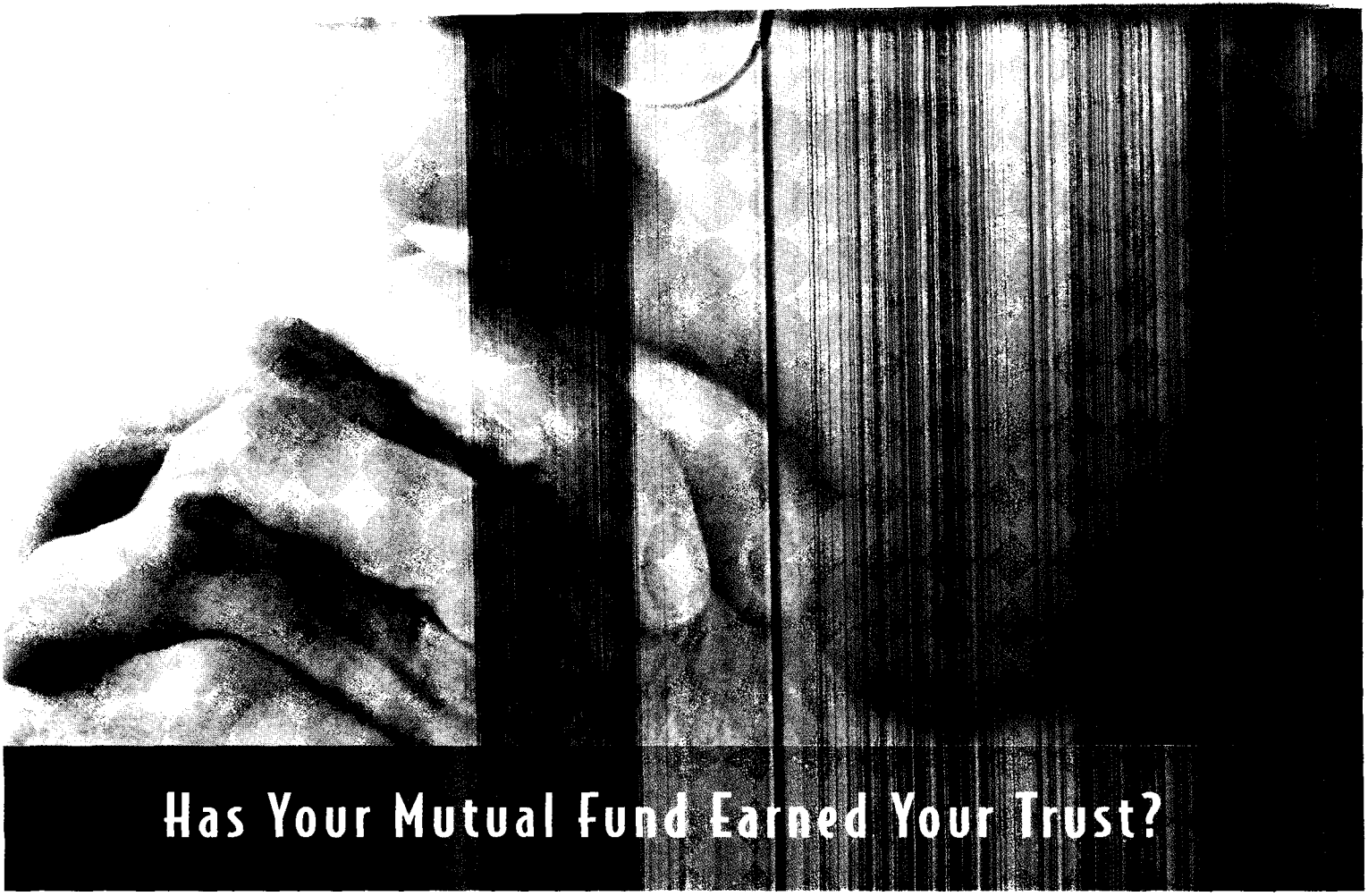

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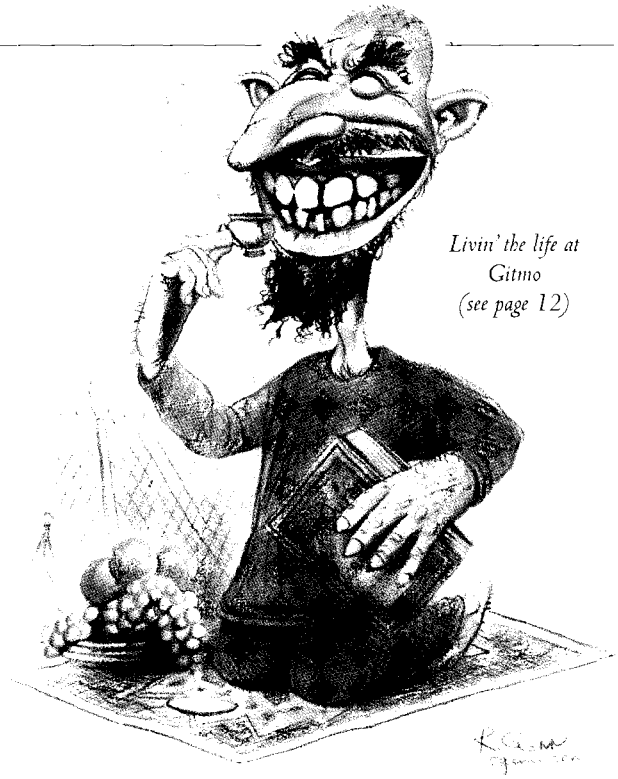
THE WEEK

■ *Now* we understand Ted Kennedy's enthusiasm for Kerry's candidacy.

■ The Story—you know what Story we are not talking about—has been denied by Senator Kerry *et al.*, and there it will likely rest, pending further developments. Should such stories see the light of day? The responsible answer is no: Privacy must be protected, issues are more important. Yet allegations of sexual misbehavior have been a theme of American politics for centuries. The election of 1828 was enlivened by allegations that Andrew Jackson was a party to bigamy. A recent Jackson biographer concedes that Mr. and Mrs. Jackson knowingly married before her divorce to her first husband was final, though, given the delays of frontier justice, their behavior was normal. So bigamy was irrelevant. Yet Old Hickory was an impulsive, as well as an effective, leader. Just ask the Cherokees, whom he uprooted, or Martin Van Buren, who had to clean up the economic mess he left. So maybe his jump-the-gun wedding was relevant after all. The president is the most powerful officeholder in the land, and now in the world. He is also Elective Surrogate King. Every clue to his nature will be considered fair game, and such clues will be revealed, and distorted, with the caprice that necessarily marks all journalism.

■ The flap over President Bush's National Guard service shrinks daily, but does not disappear. (For clinching details in the case, please see Byron York's piece, page 33.) While Democrats have had to back off Terry McAuliffe's assertion that Bush was AWOL, or Michael Moore's that he was a "deserter," they expect the press to parse every living Guardsman's recollection of the twentysomething lieutenant's presence, or absence. The controversy obscures the larger comparison between the wartime service of Lts. Bush and Kerry. Kerry's is of course more impressive. John Kerry went to Vietnam; George W. Bush went flying. Yet this contrast itself obscures the largest question, which is the convictions and judgment of the two men. Battlefield experience is not the only military experience. John Kerry polluted his record by accusing his comrades, and his country, of non-existent crimes; as an officeholder, he has been for or against war as liberalism and expediency direct. George W. Bush pulled a somewhat aimless life together; became president; then found himself in the midst of a new kind of world war, which he has fought with determination and skill. Americans in uniform and out should be able to tell which is preferable.

■ The Scream will forever stand as the symbol of Howard Dean's self-immolation. But the flames had been licking around him well before that, stoked by the political vulnerabilities created by his total anti-Bush rejectionism (John Kerry pounded away at his advocacy of a full repeal of the tax cuts, pointing out



Livin' the life at Gitmo
(see page 12)

ROMAN GENN

that it would mean a large middle-class tax increase); his utter lack of seriousness on the Terror War (his statement that he could not prejudge the guilt of Osama bin Laden was otherworldly); his pugnacious unlikability ("George Bush is not my neighbor!" he thundered to one questioner in Iowa who had suggested he not attack his "neighbor" quite so fiercely); and his laughably obvious shifts in persona and style (northeastern secular candidate one day, proselytizing Christian for the South the next; angry attack dog one day, positive candidate the next, angry attack dog the day after that). All this made for a dismal third-place finish in Iowa before The Scream. Dean affected the Democratic field, making it more left and more noxious, so his run was far from inconsequential. But it is a good thing that Dean himself failed so miserably. It will be an even better thing if the remnants of Deanism, living on in the "new" Dean-influenced John Kerry, are vanquished in November.

■ As for Wesley Clark, whose five-month presidential campaign ended after raising and spending 10 million dollars and winning one primary: He was a political novice and it showed. Clark ran as a Democrat, though he had voted for Nixon and Reagan. He blasted the Iraq war, though he said he "probably" would have voted for the war resolution had he been in Congress. He did not demur when his supporter, Michael Moore, said "deserter," though Clark had praised President Bush at a fundraiser only months before his own ambition beckoned. He said abortion should be the mother's option until the

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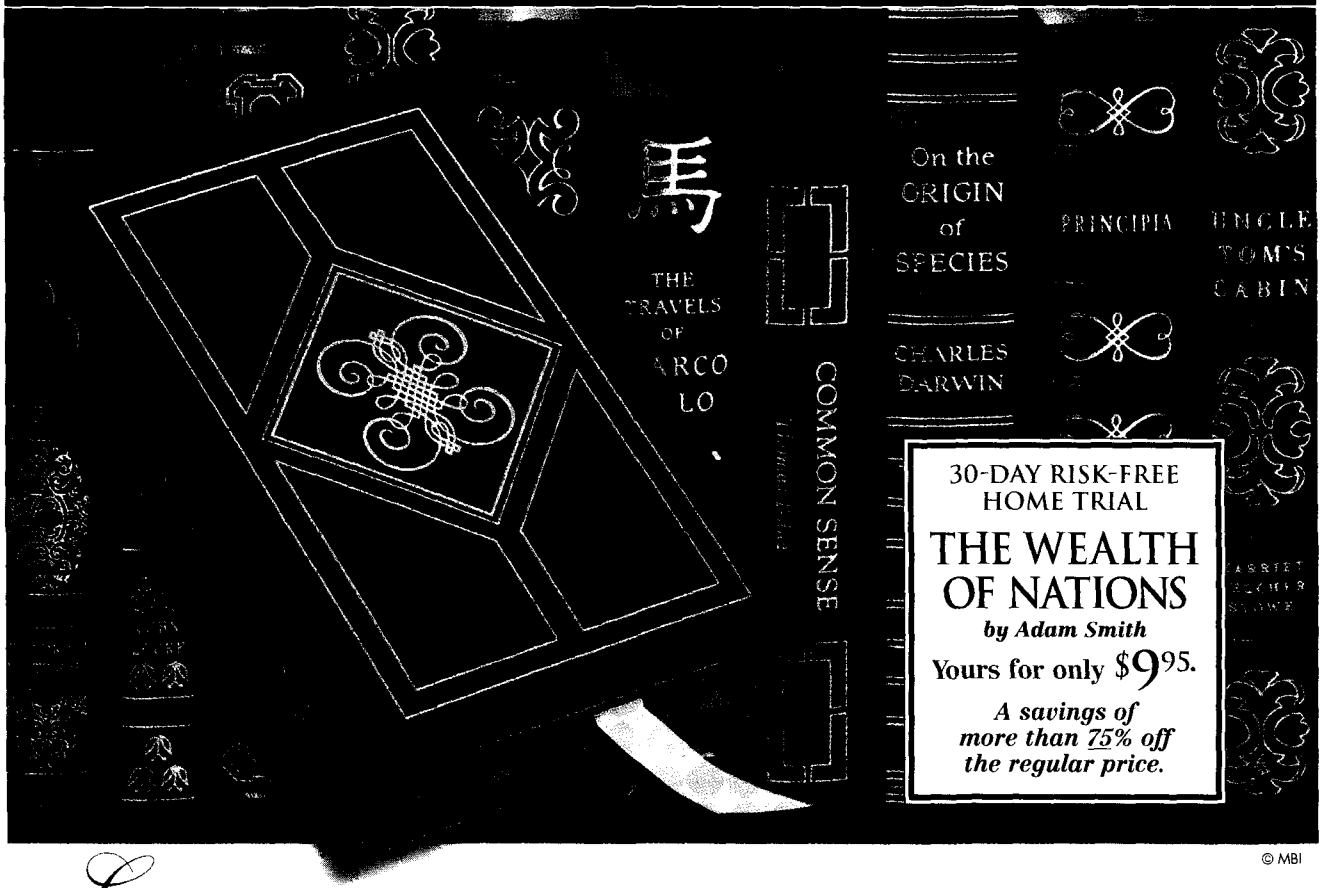

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THE WEEK...

end of the ninth month of pregnancy, which put him somewhere between the Supreme Court and Herod. Yet Clark's flameout owed more to his personality than to his incoherence and ignorance. He was smart, not shrewd; vain, not assured; prickly, not firm; impulsive, not quick; and nakedly, all-consumingly ambitious. Would he do anything to advance himself? A relentless media and a wise (or lucky) electorate have spared us the answer to that question. Clark joins the parade of freaks and flakes who have thought of the presidency as an entry-level position. Good riddance.

■ We all know that Democrats can say certain things that Republicans can't, and that the national media are biased. But still, sometimes something occurs that can astonish. Al Gore, in (another) vein-bulging speech, said of President Bush: "He betrayed this country." And John Kerry said that, if president, he would "appoint a U.S. trade representative who is an American patriot." (The current trade rep is Bob Zoellick, that well-known traitor.) Now, conservatives are taught not to whine about the unfairness of life—and they encourage others not to whine about it either—but just take a moment to imagine that a leading Republican had said about a Democratic president, "He betrayed this country," or that the presumed Republican presidential nominee had said, "I will appoint a U.S. trade representative who is an American patriot." The air would be shaking with cries of McCarthyism—and those cries wouldn't necessarily be wrong.

■ Al Gore's claim of "betrayal" came at a rally for Tennessee Democrats. He accused the president of starting a war that was "preordained and planned before 9/11 ever took place." The truth of the matter is that Bush was indeed interested in regime change in Iraq before the atrocities. Support for regime change was, after all, the official policy of the United States government, adopted late in the Clinton administration. Military action to achieve it was even contemplated in Clinton and Gore's Washington in 1998. But the idea that Bush, circa March 2001, was penciling in 2003 for an invasion is a fantasy. Gore also accused Bush of exploiting a "politics of fear" just as Richard Nixon had. Gore explicitly invoked the defeat of Al Gore Sr. for re-election to the Senate in 1970, after a campaign in which, he said, the Republicans used his father's opposition to the Vietnam war to question his patriotism. (Which is, obviously, a terrible thing to do, much worse than saying your opponents have betrayed our country.) It has always been tempting to view Gore's career in the light of unresolved father issues. That temptation is irresistible when Gore gives a speech that not only returns to the political gravesite but also dwells on his evolving feelings (rivalry, trust, betrayal) toward the current president. Bad people beat his father; it was up to him to vindicate the family by becoming president; his birthright was stolen. You would be upset, too. But perhaps you would have the discretion to keep these eruptions private.

THE PUBLIC'S STEAMING

In a 4-to-3 that hits
Kerry in the gut,
Bay State judges have opined,
When one's in the rut
(Language coarsens, don't you think?)
Marriage writs must go
In the sleeper with gay guys
Off to Buffalo.

—W. H. VON DREELE

■ The multiple panels investigating the intelligence pre-9/11 and pre-Iraq campaign are entangled in confusing issues over their scopes, deadlines, and agendas. But the Democrats' operative principles in these controversies are clear enough. The 9/11 commission had to report later, closer to the election; the WMD commission should report earlier, *before* the election. Whatever might inflict the maximum damage on President Bush is what national security turns out to require. What should our intelligence standards be? In the case of 9/11, Bush is to be faulted for not acting on vague guesswork about a danger. In the case of Iraq, Bush is to be faulted for acting on longstanding and specific, but not foolproof, intelligence. The Republicans on these commissions—especially the 9/11 commission that Republican Tom Kean chairs—have largely agreed to Democratic demands in order not to appear to be stalling an investigation for political reasons. In other words, they're getting rolled.

■ N. Gregory Mankiw, the head of President Bush's Council of Economic Advisers, produced a rare moment of Washington bipartisanship. Republicans and Democrats alike say he should be sacked, or at least reprimanded. The economist provoked this ire by saying that "outsourcing" service-sector jobs was simply another form of trade. While acknowledging that trade can be disruptive for many workers and communities and calling for federal help for those adversely affected, he said that trade was good for the economy. John Kerry and Tom Daschle denounced Mankiw's remarks. The secret was out, they said: Sending American jobs overseas is a deliberate policy of the Bush administration. That's not quite right. But it is true that it is administration policy to allow companies to cut costs by moving some work overseas, and to allow companies in other countries to purchase services here. We would be very surprised if that did not turn out to be the policy of a Kerry administration, too. Democratic economists, like Republican ones, are well aware of the theoretical and empirical reasons for thinking that when companies have freedom to trade it is better for shareholders and consumers and, indirectly, for workers too. The Bush administration, which sometimes gives the impression of wanting to defend free trade without ever having to, well, actually defend free trade, has backed away from Mankiw's comments. But he was right.

■ Senate Democrats finally have the scalp they so desperately

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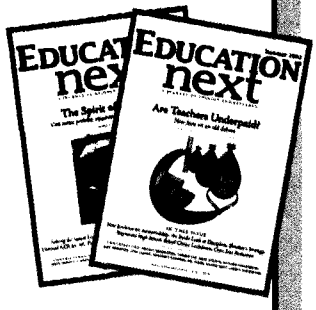

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There was good news, bad news, and troubling nonsense associated with the December 17, 2003, release of scores for ten big cities in fourth- and eighth-grade reading and math on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP).

The good news is that major urban school systems are willingly participating in NAEP, allowing their results to be held up for public inspection, and submitting to comparisons that can be harsh as well as revealing.

The bad news is that most students in these cities' systems performed dismally. In fourth-grade math, in only three of the ten jurisdictions did the percentage of kids scoring in NAEP's "proficient" range rise above the teens—and in just one did it beat the national average. In eighth-grade reading, at least two-fifths of the students were "below basic" in seven cities. In the six lowest-scoring cities, the percentages of reading-proficient eighth graders were grim: Chicago 15 percent, Houston 14 percent, Atlanta 11 percent, Los Angeles 11 percent, District of Columbia 10 percent, Cleveland 10 percent.

This shows that **Washington's ambitious goal of getting every young American to the "proficient" level is akin to crossing the Grand Canyon**, calling for heroic action on many fronts. Why, then, is the chairman of NAEP's governing board saying something different? An architect of the vaunted Texas education reforms, Darvin M. Winick is known for his reformist zeal. But not this time.

First he asserted that "the perception that students in urban schools do less well than others and have poor academic performance is not supported by the 2003 NAEP results." This is simply wrong. Their academic performance, by and large, is horrendous. And with rare exceptions, they do notably worse than the national average. Why encourage complacency in big-city school districts just when they need to struggle harder with painful reforms?

Winick turned next to the presentation of test results by race, noting (correctly) that minority youngsters "meet or exceed national averages" for students of the same race in some cities. OK, it's good to know that urban kids do no worse than same-race children elsewhere. But then he made this regrettable assertion: "When demographics and family economics are considered, students in the participating urban districts, on the average, are not too different from other students across the nation. The common perception that students in urban public schools do not achieve is not supported by the NAEP results."

The fact is that huge numbers of urban (and nonurban) youngsters in America are *not* achieving anywhere near satisfactorily—and that should be the main message. Moreover, at a time when our premier education goal is to close race-related achievement gaps, it is bizarre to settle for academic outcomes adjusted for "demographics and family economics." Such statements imply that poor and minority kids ought not be expected to attain proficiency and that we should be content if those in our big cities do as well (that is, as poorly) as similar kids elsewhere in the land.

Troubling nonsense, indeed.

— Chester E. Finn Jr.

Chester E. Finn Jr. is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution; chairman of Hoover's Koret Task Force on K–12 Education; and president of the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation.

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THE WEEK...

wanted. On February 6—Reagan's birthday!—the Senate Republican leadership announced the resignation of Manuel Miranda, a top aide to majority leader Bill Frist. Miranda quit under pressure from Republicans eager to accommodate Democrats angry over the leak of secret Democratic strategy memos concerning the president's judicial nominees. Those memos, leaked to the press late last year, revealed that Democrats were working closely with liberal interest groups to, among other things, racially profile Bush nominees and manipulate the scheduling of one nominee's hearing in hopes of influencing an ongoing case in federal court. One memo referred to Bush's judicial picks as "nazis." The documents would have been profoundly embarrassing to Democrats had anyone in the establishment press decided to pay attention. Instead, Democrats cried foul and claimed the memos had been stolen—even though it was their peculiar computer system that made them available to anyone at the Judiciary Committee who wanted to see them. In full retreat, Republicans gave in to Democratic demands for an investigation and, later, to demands that Miranda be fired. Now Miranda—who played a key role in several battles to confirm Bush nominees—has fired back. Shortly before his resignation, he filed a complaint with the Senate Ethics Committee alleging that so-far-unpublished memos contain evidence of "a violation of the public trust in the judicial confirmation process on the part of Democratic senators on the Senate Judiciary Committee. This includes evidence of the direct influencing of the Senate's advice and consent rule by the promise of campaign funding and election support in the last mid-term election." Miranda's complaint did not offer any details, but that is a very serious charge. Perhaps the Republican leadership could pull itself out of its defensive crouch and press the Ethics Committee to investigate.

■ Republicans thought they were being clever. The McCain-Feingold campaign-finance regulations were supposedly going to work in their favor. Republicans have been good at raising

Free the Digital Economy

FOR the past 150 years, a hallmark of the American economy has been that we are almost always first in inventing and adopting cutting-edge technologies. That has been true in every area from drugs and vaccines to automobiles, aeronautics, TV, radio, semiconductors, and computers.

That's why a new United Nations report on the digital economy is so disturbing. It finds that when it comes to the next generation of communications technology, high-speed broadband service, the United States is not a global leader, but a laggard. Broadband technology makes Internet service faster and more reliable, and allows us instantly to download text, video, music, and data.

In the area of broadband, America is not in first, or second, or even third place. We now rank eleventh in the world in home and office access to high-speed Internet service. Only a little more than a third of American homes and businesses have broadband, even though this technology has been with us for several years. Six out of ten Americans are still sputtering around on the Internet in clunky Model Ts as the rest of the industrialized world zooms past us in eight-cylinder Porsches. As the accompanying chart shows, this is the first new consumer product in decades whose dispersal to middle-class households is taking longer than it did for the previous technological Next Big Thing.

Number of Years It Took for Major Technologies to Reach 50 Percent of American Homes

Telephones	71
Electricity	52
Radios	28
PCs	19
Cable	15
Cellphones	14
VCRs	12
Internet Access	10
DVD Players	5
Broadband Service	8*

*AND COUNTING
SOURCE: DALLAS FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, 2002

The economic costs of falling behind are huge. Nearly $2 trillion of stock-market value has been lost in the telecom industry since 1999, thousands of firms have gone bankrupt, and they have flushed tens of thousands of well-paying jobs down the tubes with them.

Who's to blame for this wreck? Congress and federal regulators. The 1996 Telecommunications Act was supposed to remove regulatory hurdles to the information superhighway. Instead it has erected anti-growth price controls that stunt new investment. Peter Huber of the Manhattan Institute explains what has gone wrong: "We have a stupefyingly complex labyrinth of rules that regulate the price of everything. It is HillaryCare for the telecom industry." Most damaging of all is a rule that requires the Baby Bell telephone companies, which are expected to invest $100 billion in broadband infrastructure, to allow competitors to free-ride on the system at below-market costs. They are essentially asked to build the lemonade stand and then let their rivals use it too.

The FCC should deregulate and lift all price controls, as we did so successfully in trucking, airlines, and energy in the late 1970s and early '80s. Some at the FCC still cling to the obsolete notion that broadband is a monopoly service and must be price-fixed. In this age of satellite technologies, cable TV hook-ups, and near-universal cellphones, the broadband industry already faces competitive forces that will hold prices down and serve customers efficiently.

Economist Robert Crandall of the Brookings Institution estimates that there would be $500 billion a year in added telecom investment if we simply imposed a saner regulatory structure. Liberating the digital economy from the leaden hand of regulation would allow America to rise from Number 11 to Number 1 in the world in telecommunications innovation.

That'd be more like it.

—STEPHEN MOORE

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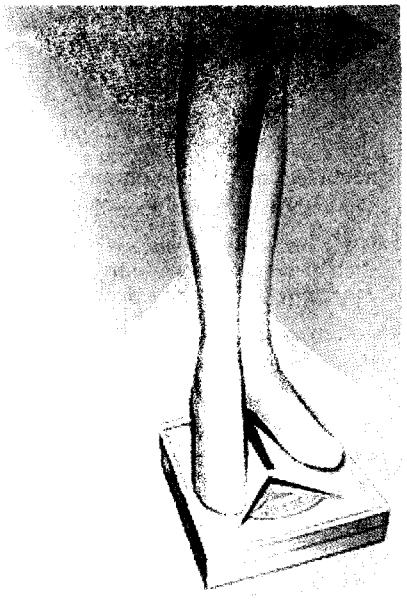

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AND Stay Healthy

Let's face it. Many of us long for a trim body for our own vanity, for self-esteem or to be more pleasing to others. However, if those were the only reasons for being thin then we, as nutritionists, would not have created a diet product. An overweight body is ***not*** a really healthy body. Clinical studies have repeatedly shown that overweight individuals have a much higher incidence of ***diabetes, heart disease, hypertension*** and a myriad of other serious complaints. These are matters that have ***little*** to do with vanity and ***everything*** to do with health. Health is our business and the slim good looks that go with a healthy body is a fringe benefit.

While there are a lot of so-called meal-substitute products on the market, ***none properly take into account all the nutritional factors necessary to make them really work.*** Unfortunately, eating fewer calories alone does not guarantee you will lose weight. When you severely reduce your caloric intake, you may well be depriving your body of the many nutrients it must have to maintain good health. When your body is missing these vital nutrients it acts as though you are starving. This triggers a ***survival mode response.*** Your body holds on to fat so you won't starve. That is why Lewis Laboratories developed **Weigh Down.** It is truly a remarkable nutritional diet plan that covers ***all*** the bases. **Weigh Down** provides at least 100% of all ***vitamins, minerals and proteins plus digestive enzymes.*** **Weigh Down** contains an effective level of three important lipotropic factors:- ***choline, inositol and carnitine*** which actually help burn fat deposits. Each serving of **Weigh Down** also contains an effective quantity of our own special blend of ***fruit, grain and vegetable fiber.*** By providing the necessary bulk material your body needs, it helps to ensure proper digestive functioning and gives you the ***full*** feeling of having had enough to eat.

Most diet plans claim they make it ***easy*** to lose weight. ***That is simply not true.*** There is ***no easy way to lose weight.*** The real difference is that **Weigh Down** will work when others will not. But don't expect miracles overnight. In many cases, most will not see results until the second week – after the body has adjusted to the new regimen. Resist the temptation to weigh yourself everyday. The little variations you see will be meaningless. Real permanent weight loss is a ***gradual process*** and so it should be. **Weigh Down** provides ***every nutritional element*** for a successful diet with only ***108 calories*** per serving. Don't forget, ***even one pound a week is 52 pounds a year.*** Rapid weight-loss is almost always related to lost water, not fat. It is ***never*** permanent and could be damaging to your health. ***Always consult your doctor before beginning any serious weight loss program.***

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THE WEEK...

"hard money" contributions and Democrats at soft money. The new law raised limits on the former and eliminated the latter. The only worry had been that it was unclear whether the law restricted the fundraising and spending of outside organizations such as "America Coming Together," which hopes to spend $95 million to defeat President Bush. The Democrats have gotten a head start in setting up such organizations. The Republicans have hung back, hoping that the Federal Election Commission would ban them. They were rooting, in other words, for a federal agency to stamp out forms of political speech. (The Democrats adopted a parallel hypocrisy: They want to "get money out of politics," unless it's theirs.) But the Republican strategy now appears to be backfiring. Brad Smith, a conservative Republican appointee to the commission, says he is sticking with his principles. The FEC will therefore probably rule that the law does not apply to the outside groups. The campaign-finance cops are not going to make Democrats shut up. So Republicans are going to have to compete with them, which is as it should be, but will do so starting from a position of weakness. This holiday from principle has cost them dearly.

■ Scientists in South Korea announced that they had cloned a human embryo. Supporters of "research cloning"—that is, the creation of human embryos for the purpose of research in which they are destroyed—said that the announcement showed the folly of trying to enact a U.S. ban on cloning. Such a ban would only cause the research to move out of the country. "It is no accident that this week's breakthrough took place in South Korea, where government funding is available for this kind of research, rather than in the United States, where it is not," editorialized the *Washington Post*. It advises Congress to ban cloning only when it would be used to produce babies, and to make sure that the research proceeds in an ethical manner. But any ban, including the *Post*'s preferred one, is susceptible to the objection that people who wish to flout it will move to jurisdictions where it does not exist. (Scientists who want to do research on adult prisoners are better off in China than here, where religious and liberal hang-ups keep getting in the way.) And whether research that destroys embryonic human beings can in principle be conducted ethically is precisely the issue in dispute. If Congress bans all forms of human cloning, as we hope it will, some cloning will take place elsewhere, and many Americans will not accept or even understand the new law. But the law would not be pointless. It would say that human beings, however small and young, may not be treated instrumentally and may not be deliberately destroyed. Scientific progress is a wonderful thing, but it is not to be bought at the expense of basic justice.

■ Abu Musab al-Zarqawi is an enemy in plain view. Thirty-seven years old and a Jordanian by birth, he's a longtime Qaeda loyalist. He is known to have fought the Soviets in Afghanistan, and to have recruited for the Chechens. Above all, he was commander of Ansar al-Islam, a group of all-Arab fanatics under Saddam Hussein's direction in Iraqi Kurdistan, where they blazed a trail of murder and brutality. Here's someone with clear links to both Saddam and Osama bin Laden. In his pre-campaign report early last year to the U.N., Secretary of State Colin Powell first fingered him. During the actual fighting, Kurdish and U.S. forces destroyed much of Ansar. Zarqawi and other survivors went underground, and they are suspected of committing most of the outrages in Iraq. At the Iraq–Iran border, Kurdish forces have now arrested a runner, who turns out to be one Hassan Ghul, a key Qaeda operative. He was carrying documentation that, in the opinion of experts, is genuine and connects Iraqi terror to al-Qaeda. In one detailed situational report, the writer—assumed to be Zarqawi—claims credit for supervising 25 suicide bombings. But he says, with some agitation, that it's a race against time. It looks like the Americans will win, and this is suffocating. Once democracy is in place, and there's an Iraqi government, "we will just have to pack up." There's one last hope, though, and that is to attack the Shia in order to incite them to seek revenge on the Sunnis. Whether or not Zarqawi himself gave this advice on how Muslims should treat one another, that's exactly how the Qaeda mind works.

■ The criminal activities of Abdul Qadeer Khan, father of the Pakistani or "Muslim" bomb, read more and more like a doomsday thriller. James Bond, where are you? First he purloined designs for the nuclear weapons. Then he set up a purchasing system for parts (including centrifuges) so exaggerated that he could sell off the surpluses. Finally he found partners for a manufacturing and trading network abroad, in order to smuggle parts and raw materials to his clients in Iran, Libya, and North Korea. All sorts of middlemen cooperated in Germany, England, Malaysia, Dubai—and they are now maintaining vociferously and unconvincingly that their hands are clean. Dr. Khan became one of the richest men in Pakistan, and made no attempt to hide it. Rumors that he was making his personal fortune by proliferating nuclear technology have been circulating in Pakistan for years. It was an open secret, for instance, that air force planes were being used to transport materials and missiles. President Musharraf claims to have heard nothing until recently, but now that Pakistan has been caught red-handed he's become rather sheepish about it. Of course it's difficult to proceed against someone held to be a national hero, the Father of the Muslim bomb, no less—but was it strictly necessary to pardon Dr. Khan within 24 hours? And of course President Bush can't push too hard while Musharraf helps fight the Islamists. But this contribution to the world's instability isn't going to pass any day soon.

■ Muhammad Ismail Agha, aged 15, is back with his family in Afghanistan after two months' imprisonment at Bagram airbase north of Kabul, followed by a year in the U.S. holding facility at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. Human-rights groups have criticized the detention of minors like Ismail, but the lad seems to have profited from his time at Gitmo. He lived with two other Afghan boys in a house with several rooms. Each day the boys were taught English, Pashto, and basic math by Afghan-American teachers. Dietary and religious preferences were scrupulously observed. "For two or three days I was confused," Ismail testified, "but later the Americans were so nice with me. They were giving me good food with fruit and water for ablutions before prayer." Added the boy's father: "My son got an education in America." Would that we could as easily educate

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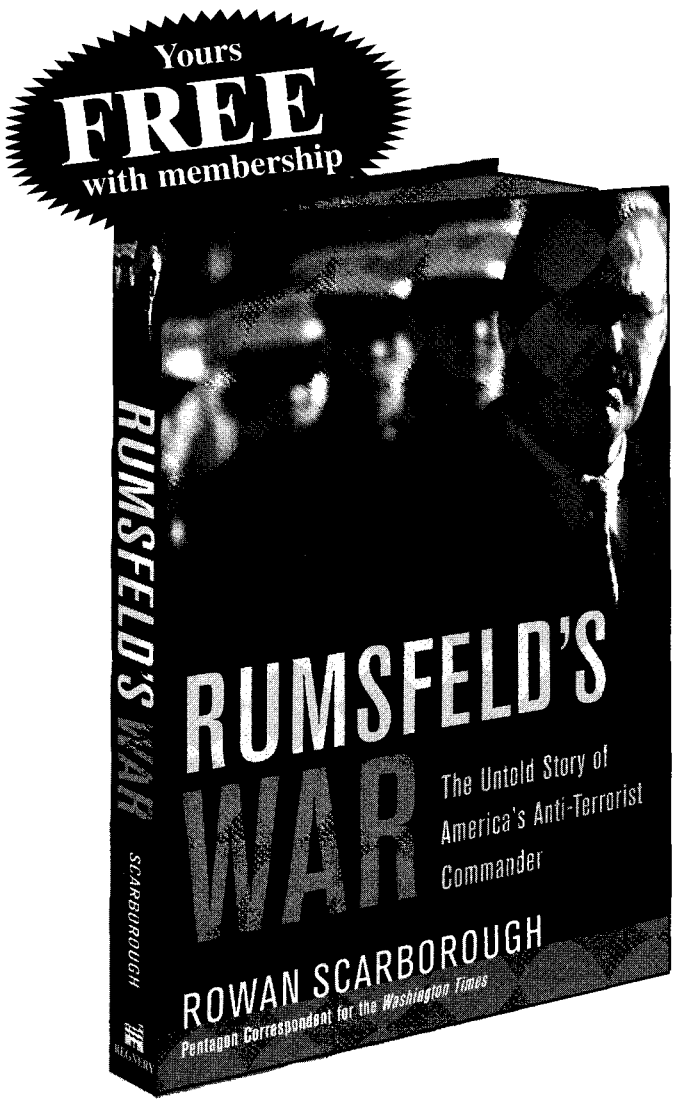
The inside story of why our victories in the terror war can be credited to one brilliant, brave, and tenacious man:

Donald Rumsfeld



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THE WEEK...

the leftist and anti-American busybodies who grumble about the "inhumanity" of Guantanamo Bay.

■ In the bicentennial year of its independence, Haiti faces a revolution against President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the former priest who was first elected in 1990, deposed in 1991, then restored by American arms in 1994. How many revolutions has that been? Haitians themselves have lost count. Colonial Haiti was subject to a slave regime more debased than anything in the United States. Toussaint L'Ouverture, its first and most competent leader, was betrayed and imprisoned by Napoleon. Blacks and mulattos engage in endless racial strife. Land "reform" has split the countryside into tiny, deforested plots. Voodoo stimulates lively art but locks its votaries in ignorance. Law, honest dealing, and independent institutions are almost unknown. An American occupation between world wars paved the roads and delivered the mail, but Terror War commitments and a PC world guarantee that that will not happen anytime soon. A talented, wretched people face another century of poverty and chaos.

■ Randall Robinson is the black American scold who wants our government to pay reparations to citizens of his race, to atone for the crime of having permitted the enslavement of those citizens' ancestors. Three weeks before the September 11 attacks, Robinson left the U.S. for good, moving to his wife's birthplace, the two-island Caribbean nationlet of St. Kitts and Nevis. Robinson is fulsome in praise of his new home. "[T]iny, modest-living St. Kitts . . . is a healthier society" than the U.S., he declares in his new book, *Quitting America*. There are other views of that society, but we do not begrudge Mr. Robinson his new-found idyll—especially in view of his remarks about the nation he left behind. This is a hellhole of misery, privilege, and racist oppression, whose chief executive is a man "unremarkably endowed with intellect, wisdom, and even, suspiciously, courage," where "poor white truck drivers vote for rich white Republicans," and whose secretary of state "makes no persistent brief for blacks who are put upon and disadvantaged because of their race." There is, so far as we can see, no downside for America in losing those citizens who hate her. We'd be happy, in fact, if, having made an orderly departure, such persons could be barred from re-entry—apparently a necessary precaution in Mr. Robinson's case, as a NATIONAL REVIEW contributor recently spotted him chortling merrily in the offices of his New York publisher, presumably after negotiating his book royalties.

■ "Why can't a woman be more like a man?" wondered Henry Higgins in *My Fair Lady*. Britain's parliament has been pondering the same issue, and has come to the conclusion that not only can a woman be as like a man as she pleases, she can actually *be* a man if she wants to, and a man can be a woman, too. It requires a certificate from a compliant doctor to prove that the person so inclined is suffering from "gender dysphoria," but aside from this minor inconvenience, nothing else is necessary. In particular, no surgery is necessary. If you are biologically a man, but think you are a woman—well, then you can be a woman in law; and vice, of course, versa. This is the essence of the Gender Recognition Bill, which passed the House of Lords on February 10, after intensive lobbying by groups favoring "transsexual rights." In Britain, after the bill is signed into law, a clergyman might find that the apparent man and apparent woman he has married are, in fact, two men, or two women, in all physical respects. Not only could he not do anything about this after the fact; if he disclosed his findings to another clergyman, he would break the law and be subject to a heavy fine! This is a step beyond homosexual marriage, toward a state of society in which all distinctions between male and female have been purged from the laws. Possibly Professor Higgins would have approved; but a system of laws that departs so far from the plain realities of human nature will almost certainly prove unsustainable, and inimical to liberty.

■ Ever in the vanguard of political correctness, the Church of England has been debating the best way to refer to the Three Wise Men. A committee of that church's current synod, charged with rewriting the prayer book yet again, has changed "wise men" to "Magi," on the grounds that, as a spokespedant for the committee explained, "the visitors were not necessarily wise and not necessarily men." While the sub-editors of British newspapers had a field day ("The Three Fairly Sagacious Persons," scoffed the London *Daily Telegraph*), ordinary believers were left wondering whether God was being mocked; and, if so, what She might decide to do about it.

■ The saving grace of George Steinbrenner, the principal owner of the New York Yankees, is that he understands the Yankee Idea, symbolized by those bronze plaques in the outfield at Yankee Stadium, the House that Ruth Built. The Yankees' mission is to be the best in baseball, as New York's mission has been to be the Empire City, in finance and culture, home of the late and correctly (if immodestly) named World Trade Center. Now Steinbrenner, putting money where his mouth is, has pulled off the greatest deal since Morgan consolidated U.S. Steel by buying out Andrew Carnegie. Steinbrenner has bought Alex Rodriguez, arguably the best player in baseball, edging out—who else?—the Boston Red Sox, from whom the Yankees bought the Bambino himself in 1920. Rodriguez so much wanted to join the Yankees that he agreed to play third base instead of shortstop, leaving shortstop to Derek Jeter, another star. Boston may remember this as the Curse of A-Rod—though Yankee pitching is a question mark, and it is a long way from February to October, when the Yankees could repeat as the Tankees.

CAMPAIGN 2004

Betting on Bush

ALL of a sudden, Republicans are worried about President Bush's chances in the upcoming election. There are several reasons for the gathering gloom. Republicans had hoped to be able to run against Howard Dean, and will not. The economic recovery has not yet produced many jobs. Bush has been losing conservative support because of his record on spending and his immigration pro-

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Dennis M.
Richmond, VA

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Grace A.
Margate, FL

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posals. Add to the mix a backward-looking State of the Union address, an unimpressive presidential performance during a television interview, a ham-handed White House response to the controversy about the president's National Guard service, and—above all—the polls showing John Kerry ahead of Bush, and you can see why Republicans are nervous.

As it happens, we think the worry is overdone. The Democrats have had the field largely to themselves for two months. Kerry has been winning primaries, and his first wins were dramatic surprises. It stands to reason that he would look strong now. Yet any objective assessment must conclude that he is electable chiefly in comparison with Howard Dean. He remains a northeastern social liberal with a weak record on national security. And even in a primary as late in the process as Wisconsin, a sizable number of Democrats is rejecting him for John Edwards. The economic indicators, meanwhile, are favorable to Bush. The public does not blame Bush for the jobs that have been lost "on his watch." It does want to see progress. By midyear it will, according to the forecasters. So the economy is likely to be a vote-winner for Bush. If so, it will be the first election since 1988 in which the business cycle has benefited Republicans.

It will also be the first election since 1988 in which national security has played a major role. It is no accident that no presidential candidate got a majority of the vote between the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the war on terrorism. The country could not reach a political consensus during the interwar period. The Republicans still had free-market and moral conservatives on their side. Without national-security hawks in the coalition, however, these two groups were unable to yield a stable national majority.

The Democrats say that the president should not "exploit" the war on terrorism. He should not, that is, point out that it is a dangerous world and that the opposition has no serious plan for making it less so. The president is also being advised by liberals not to run as an opponent of gay marriage (which would be too divisive) and a supporter of individual accounts for Social Security (too risky). But all of these issues are legitimate ones; the president's positions on them are largely sound; and they offer the chance to create a winning conservative coalition for this era. We hope that the current jitters motivate the president and his team to start making the case for a conservative second-term agenda. He is not guaranteed to win. But he's still the guy to root for, and bet on.

CAMPAIGN 2004 II

Soldier and Slander

In his cover story last issue on John Kerry's other Vietnam war record—his record, that is, of slandering American troops—Mackubin Thomas Owens may have made a mistake. Owens wrote that Kerry "will have to explain to his fellow veterans why he chose a path that dishonors their service." This may not be the case. The Owens article has been widely picked up, cited in the *New York Times* and on NBC's *Nightly News* among other places, but the press has shown no appetite for pressing Kerry about his 1971 testimony before the Senate. A brief recap: Kerry described the findings of something called the Winter Soldier Investigation, a project of anti-war activists such as Jane Fonda and Mark Lane, which trumped up stories of rape, torture, and other atrocities by American soldiers in Vietnam. As Owens wrote, the stories should have been unbelievable on their face (especially for veterans), were debunked even by anti-war liberals at the time, and have been further discredited since.

The media have brushed off the issue as irrelevant or a pointless "re-fighting" of the Vietnam War. But Kerry, who now surrounds himself with Vietnam veterans, has an obligation to explain whether he still believes his allegations, and if not, to apologize for them. Instead, his campaign seems determined to misrepresent his testimony, precisely because it is so indefensible.

According to a spokesman, Kerry "praised the noble service of his fellow servicemen and women." If so, this was the oddest "praise" soldiers ever received. The closest Kerry has come to having to account for his remarks was in an interview by a reporter for the Knight Ridder news service. Asked why he relied on the Winter Soldier Investigation, Kerry replied, "Because some of it was highly documented and very disturbing. I did in my heart what I thought was correct to help people understand what was going on. I've always honored the service of people over there. I never insinuated that everybody fell into one pot."

This is a statement shot through with mendacity. The Winter Soldier charges were not "highly documented," but totally unsubstantiated. Kerry didn't "help people understand what was going on," but rather helped publicize lies—and, as a decorated veteran, gave them more credibility than Jane Fonda ever could. He didn't "honor" the service of vets, but said "we are ashamed of . . . what we were called on to do in Southeast Asia," and maintained that America "has created a monster, a monster in the form of millions of men [Vietnam veterans] who have been taught to deal and to trade in violence." Kerry peddled the Winter Soldier claim that atrocities were widespread, "not isolated incidents, but crimes committed on a day-to-day basis with the full awareness of officers at all levels of command." These crimes tainted the nation—"the crimes threaten it," Kerry declared, "not Reds."

A limp defense of Kerry has been mounted by *The New Republic*, which has attacked NR for "deliberately misconstru[ing]" Kerry's testimony. According to the magazine, NR obscured the fact that "far from making the allegations himself, Kerry was simply repeating what other veterans themselves had admitted." As *The New Republic* itself admits, we explained this context accurately in our cover story. (Its quarrel is with the precise text on our cover.) In any case, Kerry did make the allegations himself when he chose to repeat them, and endorse them, in his testimony. It is also important whether the allegations are true. *The New Republic* accepts their accuracy without saying why. Other Kerry defenders

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have explained that Kerry's allegations of atrocities were only one paragraph in his testimony. But his testimony was predicated on the idea that the Vietnam War was an ongoing atrocity, which is why he opened it with his tales of war crimes.

Kerry thundered, "We saw America lose her sense of morality as she accepted very coolly a My Lai." He allowed, under questioning, that the massacre was a "horrible aberration." And yet the main thrust of his comments was to present the massacre as the inevitable result of a sick American culture and its criminal war. Kerry said: "I think clearly the responsibility for what happened there . . . lies in large part with this country, which allows a young child before he reaches the age of 14 to see 12,500 deaths on television, which glorifies the John Wayne syndrome, which puts out fighting man comic books on the stands . . ." Kerry thought the U.S. was the problem in Vietnam, the criminal element, not the Communist North. He estimated that 3,000 people—a mere 3,000!—might have to leave South Vietnam in the event of a Communist victory. "Yes," he added, "there will be some recrimination but far, far less than the 200,000 a year who are murdered by the United States of America." *Murdered.* (In truth, the first three years of a Communist "peace" saw more deaths than the previous thirteen years of war.)

Kerry makes much of his "band of brothers," and he should indeed be proud of the company of such men. All the more reason to disavow his slander of them, and their cause.

notes & asides

■ Dear Bill: "Johannes Eff" rides again. Hope you'll enjoy.

Cordially,
Jack Kiley
Portland, Ore.

Dr. Dean and Doctor Faustus
A Funversation

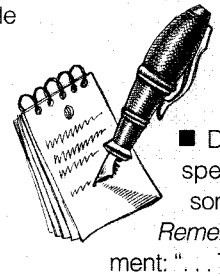
Dr. D: I'll do anything to get out of the sticks.
Dr. F: Anything? I know a few helpful tricks,
Provided you've got something precious to sell?
Dr. D: Give me a clue, I don't guess very well.
Dr. F: How about your soul, Doctor Dean?
Dr. D: My soul? That's pretty medieval! I mean,
My thing is politics, not religion. In my role
As a secular icon, there is no room for soul.
Dr. F: Why, the most valuable thing anyone's got
Is his or her soul. Mephistopheles is not
Going to lift a finger for you except for what'll
Be really demonic. I mean your ability to rebottle
Moonlight in Vermont into just what the doc
Ordered for Republican snakebite,
depression and lock
Jaw is not deviant enough. Your lies are lower
class:
They need a resounding kick in the
asseveration sass
You produce.
Dr. D: You mean I've got to seduce
With bigger and better lies? But how?
Dr. F: Howie, you must sell your soul to Satan, now,
Then you'll be upgraded to a first-class prevaricator.
You'll go from a whining alley cat to a sneaky alligator;
From a fake-in-the-grass,
To a con man, world class.
Dr. D: Will this put me in the Oval Office this election?
Dr. F: Absolutely. Learn to lie with perfection.
And you'll push
~~Junior~~ Bush
Into his daddy's past tense.
Dr. D: Doctor Faustus, you're making diabolical sense.
Get this Mephistopheles guy on the In
Ternet. I'll sell my soul to get me a November win.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Ms. Betijean Kinnerly of Houston, Tex. made the point (Sept. 1) about the verb "to sneak." Lately I have noticed a "new" declination of the verb "to shine" cropping up. When it occurs it's used like this: "He shined a light on it." I have used "shined" only in connection with shoes. It would seem that there are two declinations depending on the object: To shine, shone, have shone (for light); to shine, shined, have shined (for shoes) in lieu of "polish." This "new" wave must be coming from the same place as "between you and I." Maybe there is a nest somewhere of grammar-destroying bugs. Am I missing something?

Best regards,
Horst R. Brakel
New York, N.Y

Dear Mr. Brakel: I think it's okay. See OED, S-700, 701. "He shined his truth upon them" is okay, but "he shone his truth upon them" is a little fluffy, something of a tushery.

Cordially, WFB



■ Dear Mr. Buckley: I have always had difficulty in speaking French with the correct accent, so I felt somewhat justified when, in rereading Marcel Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*, I found the following statement: ". . . Those French words which we are so proud of pronouncing accurately are themselves only blunders made by the Gallic lips which mispronounced Latin or Saxon, our language being merely a defective pronunciation of several others" (Vol. II, *Cities of the Plain*).

Sincerely,
Helen Hill Kleyla

Dear Ms. Kleyla: Mr. Proust, I take it, gave no examples?
Cordially,

—WFB

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■ THE NATION ■

The Bells Are Ringing . . .

Marriage, marriage, everywhere

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

As same-sex couples from neighboring jurisdictions and even states besiege San Francisco's city offices clamoring to be wed, one is half-tempted to grant them what they say they want—the stability of lifelong marriage. Suppose same-sex marriages were introduced by legislation that also made divorce much harder to obtain: How many same-sex couples would then be rushing to join San Francisco's wedding carnival? My suspicion is that lesbians would heavily outnumber gay men and that there would be a great many grooms left waiting at the municipal altar. It is not lifelong commitment that the couples are seeking (except in moments of romantic fantasy), but the revolving door of modern marriage with no-fault divorce. And it tells us a great deal that legislation to make marriage both gender-free and permanent would have no chance whatsoever of passing—while gay marriage is almost upon us.

Whatever its conservative advocates may argue, gay marriage would be not a move toward greater stability in homosexual relationships, but just another domino falling in the slow-motion collapse of marriage in the Western world. Radical advocates of gay marriage support it for that very reason. As Stanley Kurtz has persuasively demonstrated, the end result of this trend is visible in Scandinavia—where marriage is gradually dying away, replaced by cohabitation, family dissolution, and child-rearing by the welfare state. Gay marriage in Scandinavia has done nothing to halt these trends. Indeed, they have accelerated in the period since gay marriages and civil unions were legalized.

Yet unless an amendment to the U.S. Constitution is passed, same-sex marriage is likely to become a reality in America. The Massachusetts supreme court has effectively ordered the legislature to allow gay couples to marry. Even before that, the Canadian supreme court's discovery of a right to same-sex marriage—though hotly contested in Ottawa—was presented in the U.S. media as an indicator of where the U.S. is heading on the grounds that, well, Canada is a more progressive version of America. And Justice Sandra Day O'Connor laid the groundwork for direct legal influence when she argued in favor of citing the decisions of overseas courts as precedents in U.S. court decisions. Judges will naturally pick and choose among these decisions, generally preferring to cite Scandinavia over Saudi Arabia, so that individual judicial decisions will become quite arbitrary while their overall drift is in a left-progressive direction. Such easygoing arbitrariness seems to be catching. In San Francisco, even the mayor is legislating—though the courts may well rebuff this challenge to their monopoly.

It is far from certain that even a federal amendment would halt this juggernaut. Although the Equal Rights Amendment failed to pass into law, the courts subsequently imposed a great many of its provisions by judicial fiat. And it is not hard to imagine determined ideological judges somehow circumventing the amendment, however cleverly it is drafted, to make gay marriage exist in all but name. That would not satisfy its advocates, of course, for whom absolute equality between gays and straights in "marriage rights" is the goal. But how long could that goal be denied once marriages and "civil partnerships" were for practical purposes identical arrangements? Judges who found ingenious ways to interpret the amendment as mandating gay marriage—don't laugh until you have studied how the 1964 Civil Rights Act came to mandate racial preferences—would have the grave nodding agreement of the *New York Times* and all the other arbiters of cultural and social fashion.

Is this analysis defeatist? No, because I will propose ways to outwit these trends. But it is pessimistic, because it suggests that some form of gay marriage is inevitable unless there are two great revolutions simultaneously. The first is a

JOHN G. MABANGLO/EPA

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Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

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religious revival. As Stanley Kurtz has pointed out, both gay marriage and the decline of heterosexual marriage tend to appear where religion, especially Catholicism, becomes weak and socially timid. The second is a successful political campaign to limit judicial review severely and to restore legislative and democratic authority on political questions. (Neither revolution is likely, but a religious revival does at least have the consolation of being unpredictable.)

Conservatives should advocate three broad principles on the marriage issue. First, marriage should be hard to get out of—and if there are children under 16 in the family, it should be *very* hard to get out of. Second, since society recognizes that marriage is a serious mutual sharing of responsibilities for the lives of others, mainly children, marriage should be given real fiscal and social advantages over the single life and non-marital living arrangements. (Once very substantial, these advantages have atrophied in recent years under the influence of feminism, individualism, and liberal theories of fiscal non-discrimination.) Third, there should be no reforms that seem to grant social or governmental approval for non-marital sexual partnerships.

If gay marriage is to be forced on us by non-democratic bodies, we should seek to embed these counteracting principles in legislation. One of the consolations this might provide is the actual rescue of traditional marriage from descent into a cold Scandinavian hell. A few months ago, I suggested that we might end up with three competing institutions: 1) Church marriages, independent of the state, and confined to heterosexual couples, with much stricter rules for divorce than exist in civil marriages; 2) civil marriages, open now to same-sex couples; and 3) household partnerships open to any grouping of people under one roof—perhaps a widowed mother and her unmarried son, or two crusty old bachelors sharing a household for convenience, or two lesbians uncertain about the permanence of their relationship. Such partnerships could enjoy certain legal rights, tax arrangements, and rights to hospital visitation and insurance, but the state would take absolutely no interest in the sleeping arrangements of those in the household and there would be no presumption that the households were essentially sexual relationships.

In this scenario, traditional marriage would be entirely in the purview of the churches, in opposition to the radical-modernizing state—and traditional marriage could well emerge as the winner from this evolutionary competition, if only because such marriages would tend to produce more children and thus to reproduce themselves.

This modest proposal of mine aroused a fair amount of criticism. Blogger Noah Millman, my most severe critic, raised several points of interest—notably that if the churches no longer insisted that their marriages be recognized by the state, then there would be no legal means whereby spouses could hold their partners to their vows. I am not inclined to be overawed by these criticisms—the modern state does not enforce all the religious vows of spouses married in church today, merely the diminishing number of them that coincide with the regulations of the government—but I am not inclined to dismiss them either. I would therefore amend my proposal as follows. In order to persuade the churches not to cut their links with civil marriage, the state would introduce a new version of it with much stricter rules for divorce—the so-called covenant marriages created some years ago in Louisiana. Couples in covenant marriages would also enjoy much more generous fiscal benefits, as a recognition that they have taken on a more arduous task. The churches in turn would agree to solemnize only such covenant marriages. The other two institutions—current civil marriage and household partnerships—would remain as described above.

There is, however, one drawback to this scheme from a traditionalist and religious standpoint. As a form of civil marriage in a gender-free legal environment, covenant marriage would presumably have to be open to same-sex couples. That would, however, return us to the question with which we began: Just how many gay and lesbian couples would sign up for a marriage that really was lifelong? It would be a searching test of consistency. And it would also settle the question of whether gays seeking marriage are seeking public commitment or merely equality of esteem. **NR**

■ **THE MIDDLE EAST**

Sharon's Moves

In Jerusalem and environs, pivotal times

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

POLITICAL turmoil is the normal state of affairs in Israel, and Prime Minister Ariel Sharon has never been one to avoid it. He thrives on risk. At the moment he is engaged in controversial policies that are either bold forays into the unknown or Clintonesque diversions from personal failings. He may be toppled by accusations of corruption—or he may be reconfiguring the Israeli–Palestinian standoff.

To take the accusations first: Financial scandals have a way of enveloping Israeli politicians, and Sharon is not exempt. Investigators recently questioned him for several hours. What they are probing is a bribery charge. An Israeli businessman named David Appel has property interests in Greece. In particular, he was hoping to develop a casino on an unspoiled island in the Aegean, and this would involve dispensations from environmental laws. Appel is said to have paid hundreds of thousands of dollars to Gilad Sharon, one of the prime minister's sons, with a view to securing intervention at the top with the Greek government. Officials of the Justice Ministry are weighing the evidence, and will decide whether to prosecute in the coming weeks.

Nor is that all. There's another ongoing investigation into alleged overspending by Sharon and his Likud party in elections to the tune of $1.5 million, which was repaid through a transfer of

Mr. Pryce-Jones is an NR senior editor and the author of, among many other books, *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs.*

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The Twisted Tree of Liberty:

F.A. Hayek and The Road to Serfdom

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—Milton Friedman

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April 3, 2004

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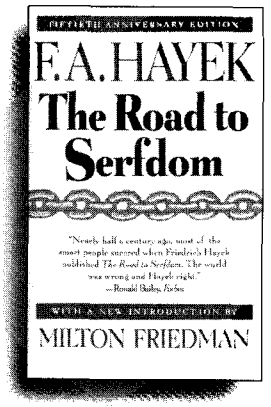

Schedule

Saturday, April 3

8:00 a.m.	BREAKFAST IN LOBBY / GUEST REGISTRATION
9:00	WELCOME/PROGRAM INTRODUCTION, MIKE RATLIFF & CHAD KIFER, ISI
9:30	GEORGE NASH, *Hayek and the American Conservative Movement*
10:30	MORNING BREAK
10:45	DOUG BANDOW, *Markets Yield Spontaneous Order: Can They Give Us a Moral Order Too?*
12:00 p.m.	LUNCH WITH SPEAKER: BRUCE CALDWELL *Hayek's Challenge*
2:00	AFTERNOON BREAK
2:30	HARRY VERYSER, *Hayek, Orwell, and the Legacy of Liberty*
3:30	BREAK
3:45	GARY SCOTT, *Hayek and Modern Educational Leadership*
4:45	CLOSING REMARKS, MIKE RATLIFF, ISI
5:00	GUESTS DEPART

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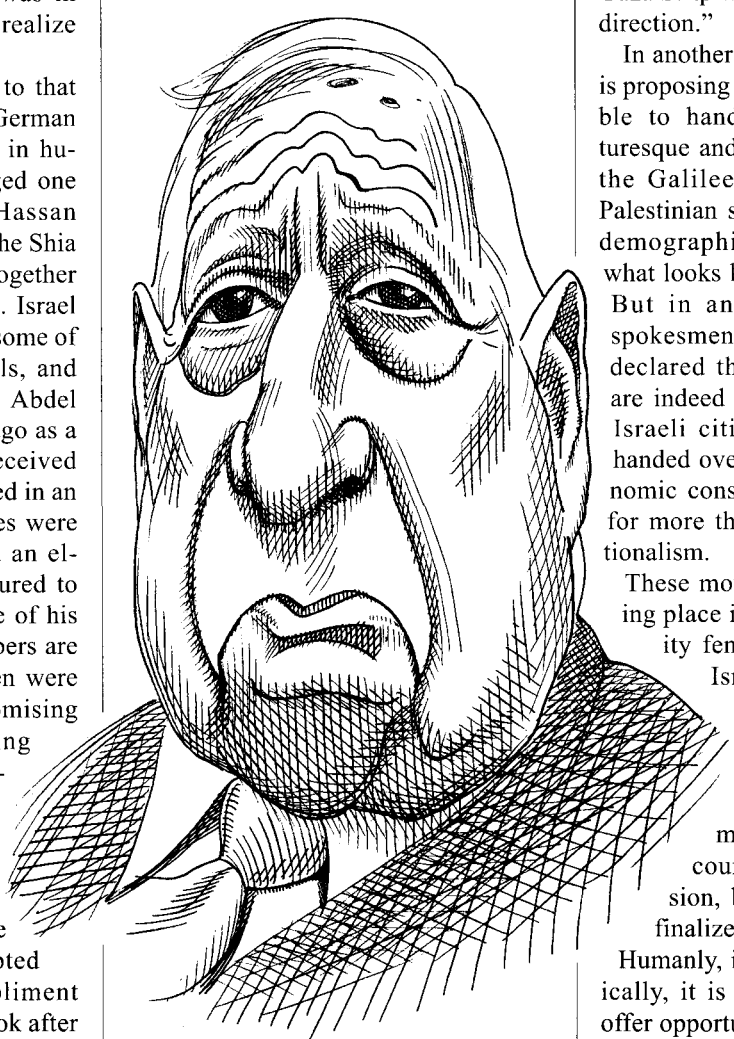
that amount to Gilad's account by Cyril Kern, a businessman from South Africa, and said to be a family friend and well-wisher. And this itself may be a further infringement—Israeli political parties are forbidden to accept foreign contributions. A television channel broadcast a tape in which Sharon appears to be discussing campaign contributions from abroad. According to opinion polls, about half of Israelis believe that Sharon should resign, if only until these matters are cleared up.

Whatever the truth, these destabilizing issues are unfolding at a moment when conflict with the Palestinians appears to offer nothing but bloodshed into the indefinite future. But is it possible that Sharon thinks otherwise? And that he has the imagination to give the Palestinians the state they always rejected—most recently when his predecessor, Ehud Barak, was in power—as well as the drive to realize it?

There are signs and portents to that effect. Behind the scenes, the German intelligence service specializes in human swaps, and has just arranged one between Israel and Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, leader of Hezbollah, the Shia terror group that Iran and Syria together sponsor and control in Lebanon. Israel agreed to release 436 prisoners, some of them terrorists, others criminals, and including a Shia cleric, Sheikh Abdel Karim Obeid, kidnapped years ago as a hostage. In return Israel has received the corpses of three soldiers killed in an ambush at a time when its forces were still in southern Lebanon, and an elderly colonel of the reserves, lured to Dubai on some shady enterprise of his own and seized there. The numbers are so unequal that Arab spokesmen were quick to claim a victory, promising more ambushes and kidnapping to effect further one-sided exchanges. Israeli and some Western commentators were equally quick to lament defeat through concessions to terror. Both may be wrong. The inequality of numbers prompted Nasrallah himself to compliment Israel on its determination to look after its own, saying on Hezbollah television: "Sworn enemies are we, but such values must be admired." Maybe he's prudent because the United States is pressuring his masters in Tehran and Damascus without whose backing he is nothing; maybe he knows it's a time for deals.

More dramatically, Sharon has just made a speech to say that a day will come when there will be no more Jews in the Gaza Strip. Seventeen of the twenty-one settlements there, involving some 7,000 people, already appear earmarked to be abandoned. This astonishing reversal came out of the blue; more than anyone, Sharon has identified himself with settler aspirations.

Protecting these settlements, dozens of soldiers have been killed in hit-and-run tactics similar to those Americans face in Iraq. But unilateral withdrawal goes far beyond a cost-benefit analysis, touching on fundamental Zionist claims that Jews have every right to live where they like in the whole of the land they say is theirs. The Likud party has come to a bewildered standstill. Smaller hard-line Zionist parties are preparing to leave the governing coalition. The settlers themselves are demonstrating their intention to stay put, no matter what, and they and their supporters argue that here is a surrender comparable to the exchange of prisoners with Hezbollah. The Palestinians are getting something for nothing, which means that terror pays after all. But the Israeli Left believes in peace through concessions, and looks prepared to join Sharon and Likud in a Government of National Unity, as once before in pre-Oslo Accord days. Searching for anything that might be progress, the Bush administration is pushing Sharon. Deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage for instance says that a pullout from the Gaza Strip would be "a step in the right direction."



ROMAN GENN

Prime Minister Ariel Sharon

In another bolt from the blue, Sharon is proposing to study whether it is feasible to hand Umm al-Fahm—a picturesque and exclusively Arab town in the Galilee hills—over to a future Palestinian state. Anxiety about future demographic imbalance lies behind what looks like more unilateral retreat. But in another unexpected turn, spokesmen for Umm al-Fahm have declared that the town's inhabitants are indeed Palestinian Arabs but also Israeli citizens, and they won't be handed over like this. Social and economic considerations, in short, count for more than ethnicity and Arab nationalism.

These moves and proposals are taking place in the context of the security fence now visibly separating Israelis and Palestinians on the West Bank. For most of its length it is not a concrete wall but raked earth, wire, and sensors, all removable one day. Parts of its course are still under discussion, but construction should be finalized by the end of next year. Humanly, it creates hardship; aesthetically, it is brutal; politically, it may offer opportunity.

Things have never been so bad for the Palestinians. Their president, Yasser

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The Golan Heights

To Whom Do They Belong? Can Israel Survive Without Them?

In a transparent effort to improve his thuggish image, Syria's president Bashar Assad has proposed to meet with Israeli government officials to discuss the possibility of peace. There can be no question that "peace" is not on Mr. Assad's mind, but rather the recovery of the Golan Heights, from which Syria has launched three major wars against Israel.

What are the facts?

Historical Background—The Golan was always part of the Jewish homeland. The Syrian claim to the Golan is tenuous. Syria, as a political entity, did not exist at all until after the first World War. Until then it was just another province in the Ottoman empire, with ill-defined borders. In 1923, in an Anglo/French great power play, the border between Syria and Israel was established. The Golan Heights were ceded to Syria. Even before the establishment of Israel in 1948, the Syrians, having heavily fortified the area, subjected the villages in northern Israel to almost daily shellings, making normal life impossible. In the 1967 Six-Day War, Syria attacked Israel and was defeated. Israel occupied the Golan Heights and in 1981, for all practical purposes, annexed them.

> "With the Golan in Israeli hands, attacking Arab armies could be confident of defeat, and peace would be preserved. To hand back the Golan to Syria at this time would be a prescription for war and for Israel's destruction."

Syria and its President—Syria is the most destabilizing influence in the Middle East. It is classified by the U.S. State Department as a narcotic-dealing and terrorist state. Its main fury is directed against Israel, which is perceived as a bulwark of Western influence and civilization, both of which Syria abhors and totally rejects.

Syria's former president, Hafez Assad, was a tyrant, every bit as ruthless and as cunning as his unlamented Iraqi counterpart Saddam Hussein. His son, the current president, is equally despotic, though not quite as smart as his father. Syria is a world center for terrorism. It still harbors Nazi bigwigs, who found welcome there after the World War. Few doubt that Hafez Assad was the mastermind behind the attack on the US Marines barracks in Beirut in which 241 Americans were killed. The Syrian government oversees one of the largest narcotics and counterfeiting operations in the world.

Military Security—The Golan is a small plateau of about 400 square miles. If it were a part of Syria it would be less than 1% of its territory. But it is of supreme strategic importance to Israel. Its high ground provides early-warning capability, without which Israel—just as in 1948, in 1967, and in 1973—would be subject to surprise attack by the Syrians. Its loss would obligate Israel to stay on constant alert and to maintain a state of readiness and mobilization that would be economically and socially untenable. The Golan, which ranges up to a height of 2300 ft., dominates the Jordan Valley, the lowest point on earth, about 700 ft. below sea level. On the Golan itself, there are only two natural terrain bottlenecks through which tanks can advance. Those choke points are defensible and made possible the repulse of 1400 Syrian tanks that attacked Israel in the 1973 war. But with the Golan in Syrian hands, and without the radar installations that would give Israel warning of any military movements, thousands of tanks—backed up by missiles and airplanes—could overrun Israel in a matter of hours. It would be a strategically impossible situation, especially for a country as small as Israel—smaller than Lake Michigan, smaller by half than San Bernardino County in California. The Golan does not make for perfect defense, but it gives Israel a small, vitally important breathing space for mobilization.

The Golan is the source of over one-third of Israel's fresh water. In 1964, with the Golan in Syrian hands, Syria attempted to divert these headwaters and to cripple Israel's water supply. It is more than likely that, given another opportunity, Syria would once again attempt to destroy Israel's water supply.

Syria has attacked Israel three times across the Golan. Given its implacable hostility, no responsible Israeli leader could possibly return the Golan to Syria. If it were to give up the high ground of the Golan and return to the "death trap" borders of 1967 or anything close to it, Israel, in order to survive, would have to rely on the good will of the Arab states, whose main policy objective is the destruction of Israel. Even though peace-for-peace would be the best solution, how about this: In order to assuage Arab pride, consider granting formal ownership of the Golan to Syria and having Israel—given the precedents of Guantánamo and Hong Kong—lease it back for a hundred-year period. An aggressor will attack only if confident of victory. With the Golan in Israeli hands, attacking Arab armies could be confident of defeat, and peace would be preserved. To hand back the Golan to Syria at this time would be a prescription for war and for Israel's destruction.

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Arafat, squats in the ruins of his headquarters in Ramallah on the West Bank. Temperamentally destructive, he has long been politically sterile. His abuses of power and money are bywords. In defiance of the law, there have been no elections for 15 years. Corruption is systemic. Arafat's wife Suha lives in Paris, and French authorities are investigating payments totaling $11.4 million from Swiss banks into her personal account. Extraordinary even by local standards, Ahmed Qureia, the Palestinian prime minister, and Jamil Tarifi, the minister of internal security, are both accused of having interests in companies profiting from the building of the security fence through the sale of cement and other materials.

Hitherto Arafat and his Fatah organization at least maintained law and order of a crude sort. Now gunmen rule, in a replication of what their peers are trying to do in Iraq. Nablus, largest of the West Bank towns, is at the mercy of a couple of young hoodlums and their gangs who have either shot dead, or shot at, leading personalities. Nobody dares do anything about it. In Gaza City, another gang of armed men shot up police headquarters, though they missed Gen. Ghazi al-Jabali, the police chief they probably intended to kill. Hamas and Islamic Jihad terrorists are mobilized to make an armed bid for power at the right moment. Israelis may kill in "targeted assassinations" those who plan or intend to carry out suicide bombings, but as many Palestinians die in factional lynchings and executions.

Constant rejection of each and every proposal for a state has led to today's general collapse. Lawyers are currently arguing on Arafat's behalf in the International Court of Justice in The Hague that the building of the security fence is illegal. Yet again, this is a rejection, perhaps a last-chance rejection. Granted all its flaws, the fence still offers the Palestinians an outline of the state that alone can enable them to live as a nation like any other. Sharon's several initiatives may of course come to nothing except his own downfall, but their logic is to pressure the Palestinians into breaking with the past and accepting at this late moment that even partial statehood is better than none. **NR**

■ **WASHINGTON**

Up from Mapplethorpe

But far from a conservative darling: The arts endowment today

JOHN J. MILLER

THE day after Janet Jackson's peep show at the Super Bowl, a joke made its way around the offices of the National Endowment for the Arts: Did we fund that?

It's a fair question for a federal agency that has underwritten exhibitions far more revealing than Jackson's striptease. Over the years, the NEA has bankrolled provocateurs such as the S&M photographer Robert Mapplethorpe and "performance artist" Annie Sprinkle. Had it financed Jackson's performance as well, that would be outrageous—but hardly surprising, given all that has come before.

The NEA, of course, had nothing to do with the CBS halftime show. But that same week, conservatives nevertheless received a shock in its behalf, when First Lady Laura Bush declared that the agency would receive an $18 million funding boost in the White House budget proposal for 2005—nearly 15 percent above current levels. "I'm proud that this is the largest annual increase in more than 20 years," she said.

That announcement undercuts the message of fiscal austerity the Bush administration has been trying to convey amid rising conservative complaints about the rapid growth of government, from the escalating cost of the new prescription-drug benefit to the forthcoming highway bill. To be sure, the arts endowment is small beans in an era of multi-trillion-dollar allocations. The proposal to spend $140 million next year represents a microscopic sliver of the federal pie; removing it completely would, for example, cover American expenses in Iraq for about half a day. Yet much of the Right's fiscal frustration has zeroed in on the arts endowment. Conservatives wonder why the agency wasn't zeroed out years ago, when it served as a stock villain in soapbox tales of federal excess.

The NEA is no stranger to budget battles; its first one started before it was even created. When the builders of LBJ's Great Society were pushing for an arts endowment in 1965, the penny-pinching Iowa congressman H. R. Gross—who once questioned whether taxes should pay for the gas fueling the eternal flame at JFK's gravesite—mocked the notion that federal dollars ought to finance paintings and ballets. He tried to derail the bill establishing the NEA by offering an amendment permitting government sponsorship of belly dancing, which he defined as "jactitations and/or rhythmic contractions and coordinated relaxations of the *serrati*, obliques, and *abdominis recti* group[s] of muscles—accompanied by rotary undulations, tiles, and turns." Gross didn't get his way, but perhaps he would have if Congress had known the NEA eventually would pay for Karen Finley to smear her naked body with chocolate sauce and pepper it with bean sprouts in an attempt to make some kind of point about sexism.

Although the first round of NEA grants was of generally defensible quality—recipients included the likes of sculptor Mark di Suvero—many in Washington understood that the spending wasn't really about aesthetics. Shortly after the Kennedy assassination, presidential aide Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. lobbied President Johnson on the political merits of cultural pork. Arts funding, he said, "can strengthen the connections between the administration and the intellectual and artistic community—something not to be dismissed when victory or defeat next fall will probably depend on who carries New York, Pennsylvania, California, Illinois, and Michigan." Years later Richard Nixon received similar advice from his own team, and the NEA budget increased eightfold on his watch.

As the number of NEA handouts grew, the debate shifted away from the

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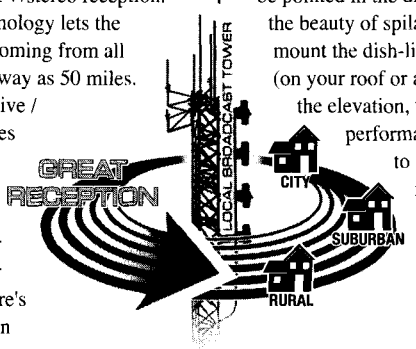

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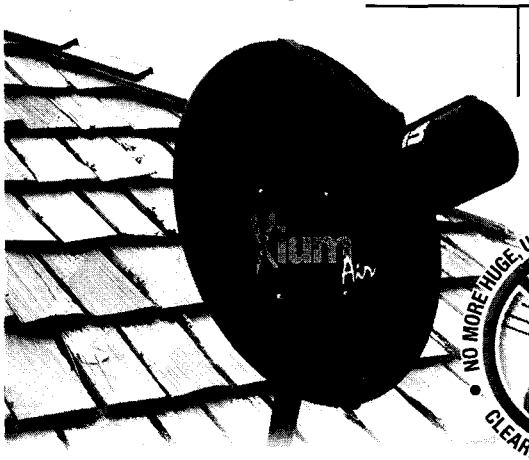

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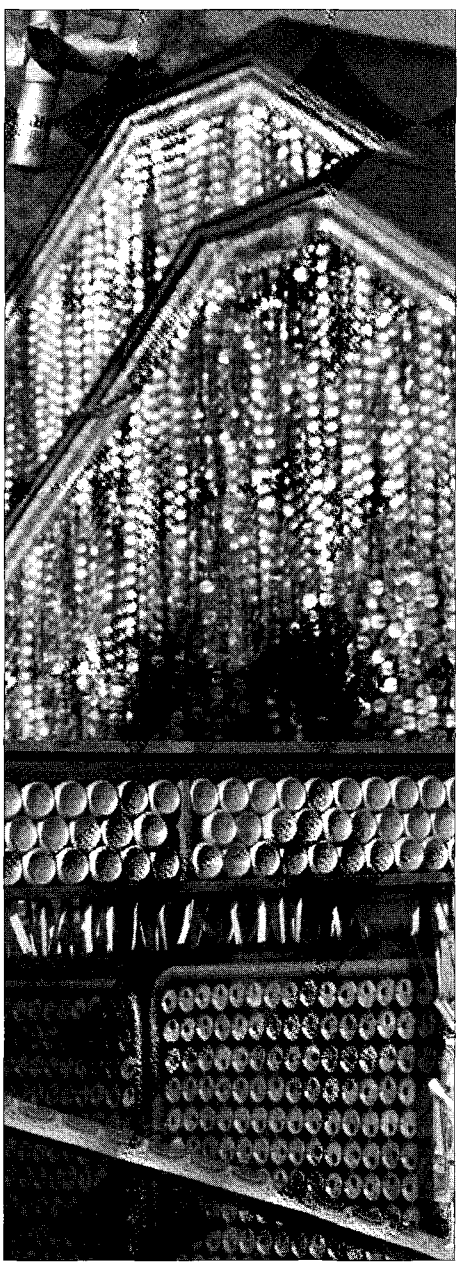
root question of whether it is the federal government's job to subsidize art, and toward the specific matter of what grant recipients were actually producing. In 1970, the agency awarded $500 to support the composition of a one-word poem: "lighght." That was merely silly. Grants in the 1980s occasionally sustained flamboyant obscenity, such as when the NEA subsidized Andres Serrano, who then submerged a crucifix in his own urine, snapped a photo, and named it *Piss Christ*. That image became a powerful icon of the culture wars and helped make it possible for Republicans to slash NEA funding by 39 percent after they captured Congress in 1994. Conservatives were disappointed that they didn't achieve more—i.e., the complete elimination of the agency—but it was better than nothing. After holding steady for several years, however, the NEA's budget started to grow again in 2001; if the Bush administration's proposed increase goes through, most of the work of GOP budget-trimmers will be undone.



NIK WHEELER/CORBIS

Beer Can House, Houston

The quality of American artistry did not noticeably suffer in the wake of those cuts, and it certainly hasn't improved since the recent funding upticks. That's because NEA money constitutes less than 0.4 percent of what Americans spend each year on non-profit arts. In fact, most people are completely unaffected by the agency's spending: A significant chunk of its largesse goes to New York and other major cities, leaving vast swathes of America untouched.

The NEA's uselessness continues to irritate many members of Congress. "It's a topic that really unites social and fiscal conservatives," says Republican Jeff Flake of Arizona. Yet the agency's congressional critics have suffered from exhaustion in recent years: Who wants to fight that same old battle again, especially when the financial stakes are puny in the context of the whole federal budget? Over the last four years, NEA spending has grown by 20 percent; it took the recent budget announcement to ignite the Right once more. The new approach to the NEA, though, isn't to push for a budget reduction or outright elimination, but to block a proposed funding increase. It's a war of attrition, and the agency's critics are losing.

To complicate matters, current NEA chairman Dana Gioia gives the NEA's foes a challenge they've never encountered before: a cultural traditionalist running the agency. (Gioia is a poet who has written for such publications as *The New Criterion*.) "I don't know how you create art unless you love the past," he says. Many conservatives regard Gioia as one of Bush's finest appointments: "If there's going to be an NEA, we definitely want someone like him in charge," says Matthew Spalding of the Heritage Foundation. Gioia may be an advocate of federal arts funding, but he also recognizes his agency's history of missteps: "I don't think the NEA has done a very good job of serving Americans." His favorite NEA programs today are the ones that support touring Shakespeare companies and accomplished jazz musicians. Almost all of the NEA's new funding for 2005 would go toward an educational initiative called "American Masterpieces: Three Centuries of Artistic Genius." It's a safe bet that *Piss Christ* won't be featured. If Congress approves the White House spending proposal, Gioia will be responsible for making not only a larger NEA but a better one—at least until someone else takes over.

Which isn't to say that the NEA has exorcised all of its demons. Under the Bush administration, the agency has channeled $42,000 to the Manhattan Theatre Club, which turned heads several years ago when it sponsored the play *Corpus Christi*, about a gay messiah. Last year it gave $10,000 for the preservation of the "Beer Can House," a Houston home decorated with nearly 40,000 trimmed beer cans. In certain circles, that's known as "folk art." Another recipient is the La Jolla Playhouse, which is developing a musical about Andrew Cunanan, the serial killer who murdered fashion designer Gianni Versace. Its take is $35,000.

"That's absolutely ridiculous," says Republican congressman Gary Miller of California. Of course, beauty is in the eye of the beholder: "It's absurd to get riled up about a nascent production simply because it's about a murderer," commented the *Los Angeles Times*'s Don Shirley in January. "The list of acclaimed plays about murderers includes *Macbeth*, *Othello*, and *Richard III*."

The NEA itself has adopted this line in defending La Jolla's forthcoming production. "Meaningful works of art can address crime, evil, and violence," says Felicia Knight, the endowment's communications director. Nobody disputes that, of course—and perhaps we can all agree that meaningful works of art also can teach us a thing or two about federal arts funding. If so, let's give the Bard the last word: "The art of our necessities is strange," he wrote, "That can make vile things precious." **NR**

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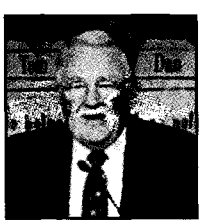
These photos are from past MRC galas and represent only a handful of the personalities who have participated in or attended the annual event.

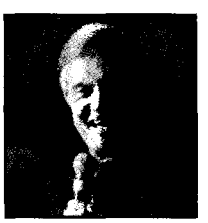
Laura Ingraham


Hon. Ed Meese

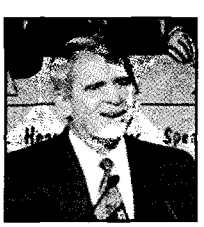
John Fund

Lucianne Goldberg

Stephen Moore

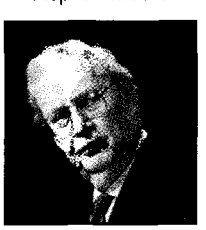

Pat Boone

Mona Charen


Oliver North

Kate O'Beirne

Rich Lowry

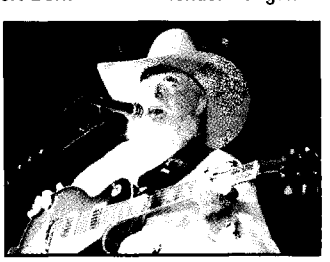

Judge Robert Bork

Michael Reagan

Christopher Buckley

L. Brent Bozell III

Jackie Mason


The Charlie Daniels Band

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■ CULTURE WATCH

Is There a Doctor-President in the House?

The unhappy history of physicians as national leaders

THEODORE DALRYMPLE

THE practice of medicine requires the exercise of a dispassionate compassion. Doctors are sympathetic yet objective, concerned yet detached, involved yet observant, feeling yet unsentimental; in other words, they have precisely those qualities that one would wish to see in a political leader. Myself a physician, I have had ample opportunity to observe the medical profession from within, and I think I may safely say that, taken all in all, and viewed objectively, it is the finest body of men and women of which humanity can boast. No matter where a doctor may come from, therefore, I immediately feel an affinity for him: for there is between us a freemasonry of the soul.

But would I really want to be ruled by a doctor? In other words, if I were an American, would I have wanted Howard Dean—from whom the United States now seems to be safe—for president? When I read that Dr. Dean had once said that he considered political and social problems simply as a doctor, that he made first an examination, then a diagnosis, and finally proposed a treatment, I experienced a slight frisson of terror. Could it be that social problems in a Dean administration would have been cleansed, debrided, excised, transplanted, or amputated? I doubt I am alone in fearing this transposition to the political of the clinical.

My first encounter with a doctor-president was in Malawi, during the salad days of His Excellency the Life President Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda. As I booked into my hotel in Blantyre, I was handed a cyclostyled piece of paper headed "Information for Tourists." It read something like this: "The people of Malawi so love their Kamuzu that if any visitor has come to Malawi with the intention of overthrowing His Excellency the Life President Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, they will cut him into pieces and throw him to the crocodiles."

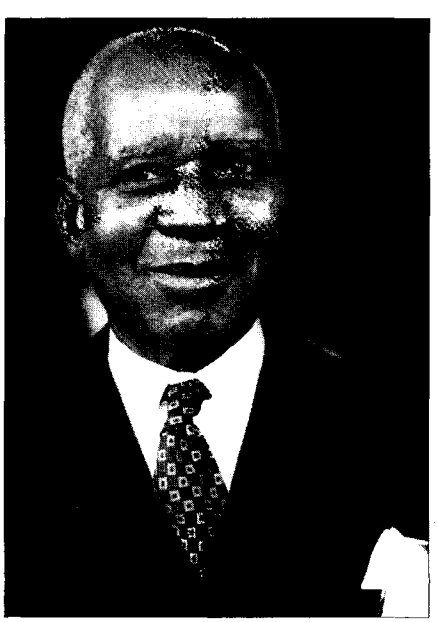
As tourist information, this struck me as distinctly odd (though it is true that when my mother first traveled to the United States in 1948, she was asked whether she had come to assassinate the president, and even now when I arrive I am asked to declare whether or not I am a genocidal murderer). Then I hired a car. One of the clauses of the contract obliged the hirer, in the not unlikely event that he came across the presidential motorcade, to drive off the road, switch off the engine, get out of the car, and stand to attention until the motorcade had passed. When he practiced medicine in England, incidentally, Dr. Banda required that his patients stand as he passed through the waiting room.

I am all in favor of respect for doctors, of course, but this seemed to be taking things a little far. Nevertheless, I conceived a sneaking admiration for His Excellency the Life President. An elder of the Church of Scotland, he always appeared in immaculate, dark three-piece suits, which couldn't have been easy in the tropics. In these suits, he would watch troupes of young women, dressed in cotton shifts printed with his portrait, performing semi-erotic dances in his praise. He was scholarly as well, having taught himself Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and German, in order to read the great books in their original tongues. He was probably the only bibliophile in Central Africa, possessing such treasures as a first edition of Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), which he bought in New York for $6 in the 1920s, and would now fetch up to $50,000. He founded the Kamuzu Academy, an elite establishment sometimes called the Eton of Africa, around the tree under which he learnt to read, where the brightest Malawian children were given a classical education to prepare them for leadership of the country under His Excellency's firm overall guidance. The Kamuzu Academy consumed almost all of the country's entire educational budget, but it was genuinely meritocratic. I have met only one alumnus of this great school, in the prison in which I work. He was in for fraud, of course.

Unfortunately, despite his intellectual interests and accomplishments (or is it because of them?), Dr. Banda left Malawi in a parlous condition, with at least two of the four horsemen on the loose.

The most famous doctor-president of the last century was not Banda, however: it was François Duvalier, Papa Doc, another *président à vie*, who, unlike Banda, actually died in power. Before he became dictator, or spiritual leader of the nation (to quote one of his titles), he was a modest doctor employed in the Rockefeller Institute's campaign to eradicate yaws in Haiti, a disease upon which he wrote several papers. Whereas Banda did his undergraduate medical training in the United States (later re-training at Edinburgh), Duvalier did only his postgraduate medical training there.

No doubt the campaign against yaws, which aimed at total eradication of the germ, indistinguishable from that which causes syphilis, suggested to him methods of dealing with his political opponents. At any rate,



Dr. Banda, ca. 1977

HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS

Mr. Dalrymple is a physician and psychiatrist who works in a British prison. He is also a contributing editor of *City Journal*, and the author of *Life at the Bottom: The Worldview That Makes the Underclass.*

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Duvalierist propaganda suggested that his ascendancy to the presidency was only a natural progression of his medical work: that the hard-working doctor merely transferred his humane concerns to the national scale.

Africa has had two other doctor-presidents, whose experience of human nature while they practiced medicine led them to mistrust elections as a means of allowing the people to choose them as leaders. Félix Houphouët-Boigny was president of the Ivory Coast from 1960 until his death in 1993 (much longer than he practiced medicine, but then being a president is much more fun than seeing patients day in, day out). He was one of those presidents who so love their country, in the words of the American minister to Paraguay during the presidency of Carlos Antonio López, they own half of it. He fully partook of the African presidential tradition of elevating his birthplace into a site of cosmic significance, and had the largest Christian basilica in the world built there. By the standards of post-independence African dictators he was only moderately bizarre, however, and for a time his country was the greatest success in West Africa (not very difficult to be). Whether the fact that his country has fallen apart since his death is a tribute to his peaceful rule, or a direct consequence of it, is a difficult question. His political philosophy was simple: "There is no number two, three, or four . . . There is only a number one, that's me, and I do not share my decisions." Doctor-knows-best became official government policy.

The other African doctor-president was not only a doctor, but a Marxist and a poet (his rival, Jonas Savimbi, felt obliged to enter the poetic field also, with execrable results), so it goes without saying that his country was destined for catastrophe. Despite his poetic streak, Agostinho Neto was fluent in Marxist *langue de bois*, as the following extract demonstrates:

> This enabled infiltration into certain government sectors and even into local Party structures of elitist, anti-people ideas, against the working class, aimed at preventing it from wielding power . . . It is essential to dismantle these petty bourgeois groups who are opposing the rise of the working and peasant classes . . . and sabotaging economic and social development . . .

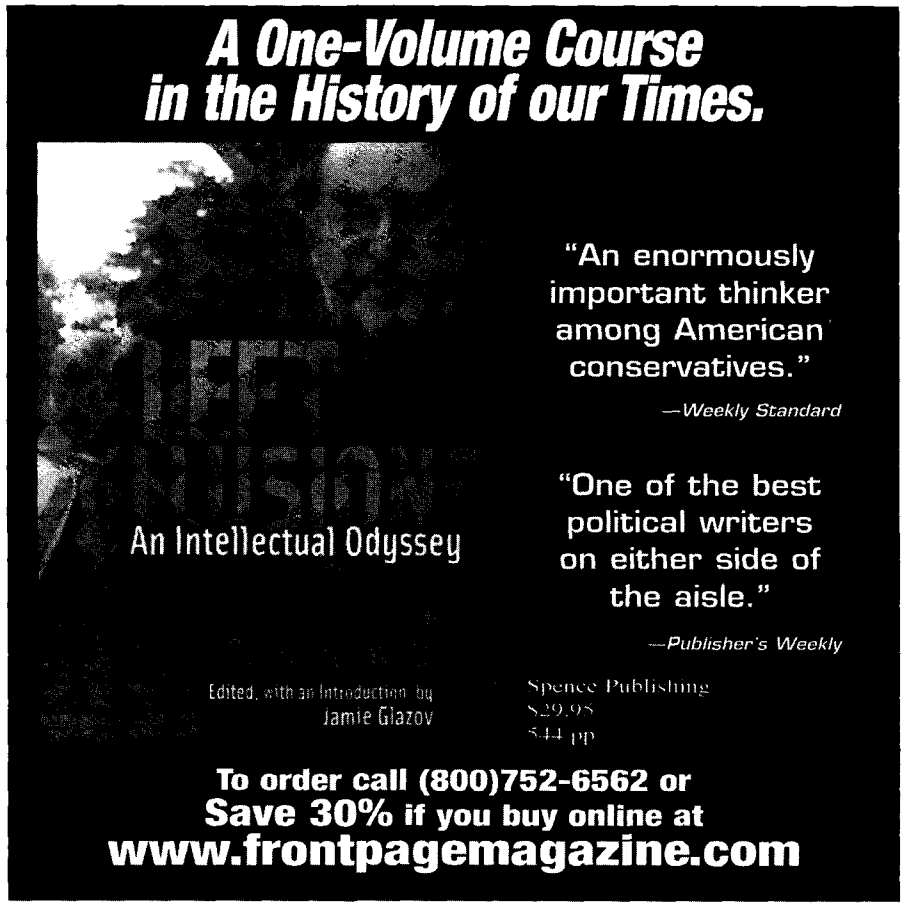
You don't have to know much about Communism in the 20th century to know what this meant.

Across the South Atlantic, another Marxist doctor-president, Salvador Allende, held power for three years. Personally charming, and an aficionado of the good things of material life, he so loved humanity (as a result of his medical experience) that he espoused ideals that had by then been responsible for the deaths of some scores of millions of people.

No survey of doctor-presidents would be complete without mention of two others. The first, Bashar Al-Assad, is the current president of Syria, who qualified as a doctor in Damascus in 1988 and studied ophthalmology in Britain for two years. No man can be blamed for being his father's son, of course, though Doctor-President Assad has not so far condemned his father's slaughter of many thousands of his countrymen in Hama, near which Assad Jr. spent some years in the military academy. He deserves some sympathy, however, because his choice of career path has been severely limited: the presidency or being hanged from the nearest lamppost by a mob. So far, he has chosen the former, as most men would do, but it is not unlikely that his career will in the end encompass both.

Radovan Karadzic was president of the Bosnian Serb Republic and is still on the run from justice. A psychiatrist, he studied at the Tavistock Clinic in London, the foremost institute of psychotherapy in the country, and evidently discovered there the healing power of mass violence. Perhaps his researches deep into the psyche of human beings also convinced him that people are hateful, worthless, or at least of no account. Certainly his contact with suffering humanity did not induce warm feelings in him.

All in all, then, doctor-presidents are probably best avoided. Whether they use the yaws-eradication model of the Rockefeller Institute or the family-therapy model of the Tavistock Clinic, the fact is that doctors have not generally shown themselves at their best when they have reached supreme political power. Americans might like to reflect on what they have been spared, thanks, in part, to a ferocious scream in the Iowa night. **NR**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A MOVIE AND ITS MEANING

Mel Gibson's *Passion* is for all time

RAMESH PONNURU

By the fifteenth minute of *The Passion of the Christ*, Jesus's right eye has swollen nearly shut. It stays that way for the next two hours. It is a brutal, almost unbearably brutal, movie. From the very beginning in the Garden of Gethsemane, the punches are real. The violence is not cool or "balletic." The movie is not, in that sense, a Mel Gibson movie. If it is true that movies make their money at the concession stands, he has been even more daring than we thought. This is not a movie that will sell popcorn. Nor is it a movie that is guaranteed to appeal to the most common American styles of piety. This is a country where Easter is more popular than Good Friday, and Christmas more popular than either. The Resurrection comes at the end of this movie, but it seemed to pass by in a half minute.

Leaving an advance screening of the movie, I ran into a college classmate I had not seen in years. She works for a mass-market pop-culture magazine. "It's hard to get beyond the ultraviolence," she said. "It's obscene." I nodded. She was right. That's the point: What we did to Christ was obscene.

If your reactions are like mine, you will be outraged when Christ is mocked and spat on. You will tear up when He looks upon Peter denying Him and when Mary runs to comfort Him when He falls on the way to the cross. You will find it hard to watch the scourging of His flesh, His blood spattering His tormentors. You will want to close your eyes as the stakes are driven in. For Christians, it is triply painful: seeing such brutality inflicted on any man; seeing it inflicted on the only sinless man, our precious Lord; knowing that we are responsible for it. But we also know that He can redeem even that awful scene, even the scene of the worst crime ever committed. It is a bloody movie. But His blood is life. Lest we forget, the movie has Him tell us so in a flashback to the Last Supper.

I had not wanted to dwell on the question of anti-Semitism in writing about *The Passion* because the subject of the movie is infinitely more important than the political controversy surrounding it. But the two are connected (as we shall see). Also, in the day since I have seen it, the first question of almost everyone to whom I have talked about it—Catholics, for the most part—has been whether the charges of anti-Semitism have any basis.

Let me start by saying that the apprehensions of the critics

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were understandable, and not just invented. They were understandable given the historical role of passion plays in fostering anti-Semitism. They were understandable given what we know, or think we know, about the Gibson family's schismatic Catholicism and about the mystical writers who influenced the movie. And Gibson's own recent comments about the Holocaust—acknowledging that it happened but seeming to downplay it as a wartime atrocity—were not reassuring either.

The movie is not at all anti-Semitic. In the film, some Jewish leaders want Christ killed and some do not. Some are decent and some indecent, as is also true of the Romans. Some followers of Christ betray the Lord—chiefly the men, as in the Gospels. Some, chiefly the women but also John, stay by His side.

Will the movie nonetheless encourage anti-Semitic outrages at a time when they already seem to be on the rise? Lunatics will find their evidence in voices in the air. Will it support a premise in the logic of anti-Semitism? The question is misconceived. Anti-Semitism is not a logic.

In the unlikely event that French Islamists or American neo-Nazis need cinematic sanction for their hatred, they will not find it here. A central message of the movie, with which all its other truths are bound up, is that we are all of us guilty for the crucifixion: Every sinful act of man—including every act of hatred against Jews—pounds the nail deeper. (Even some recent defenses of the Catholic Church have made it sound as though the idea that all of us, and not just "the Jews," are to blame was an innovation of the 1960s. Actually it was always the church's teaching, although the Second Vatican Council may have revived and deepened it.) Another is that mankind's futile and monstrous search for scapegoats finds its end in the Lamb of God.

Some reviewers have already complained that the movie whitewashes Pontius Pilate and puts too much blame on the Jewish leaders. They say that it overemphasizes the religious, and underemphasizes the political, motives for the crucifixion. But only a very unreflective person would not understand why Jewish leaders saw Jesus as a blasphemer. And even such a person will be able to see that Christ's most vicious mockers and torturers are Romans, not Jews. There is also the figure of Satan, who appears several times in the movie and is clearly not a Jewish leader.

Gibson made dramatic choices regarding Pilate that not everyone will find satisfactory. But I did not take the sympathetic portrayal of Pilate to mitigate his guilt. I took its pedagogic purpose to be to invite us to imagine that the worst evil ever could have been committed by a man who seems like a nice guy. To have sympathy for someone is to imagine ourselves in his place. That is what we are meant to do here. We are nice people. Could we have done something like this? Yes. We did. To make Pilate an ogre would be to defeat this point entirely. Should Pilate be forgiven, whatever his motives? Should the Jewish leaders? Should we? That is not a question that I can

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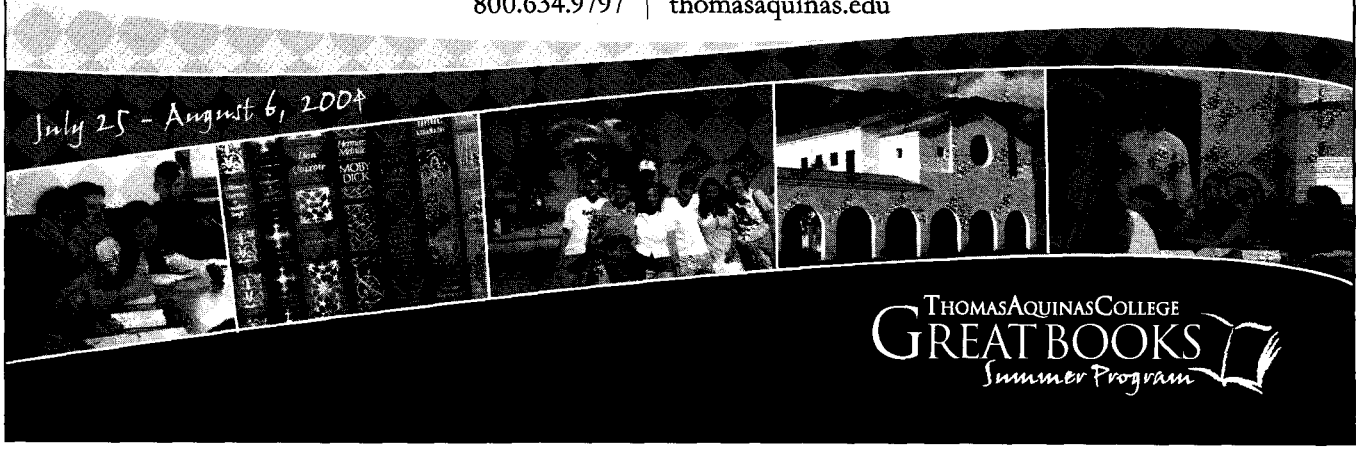

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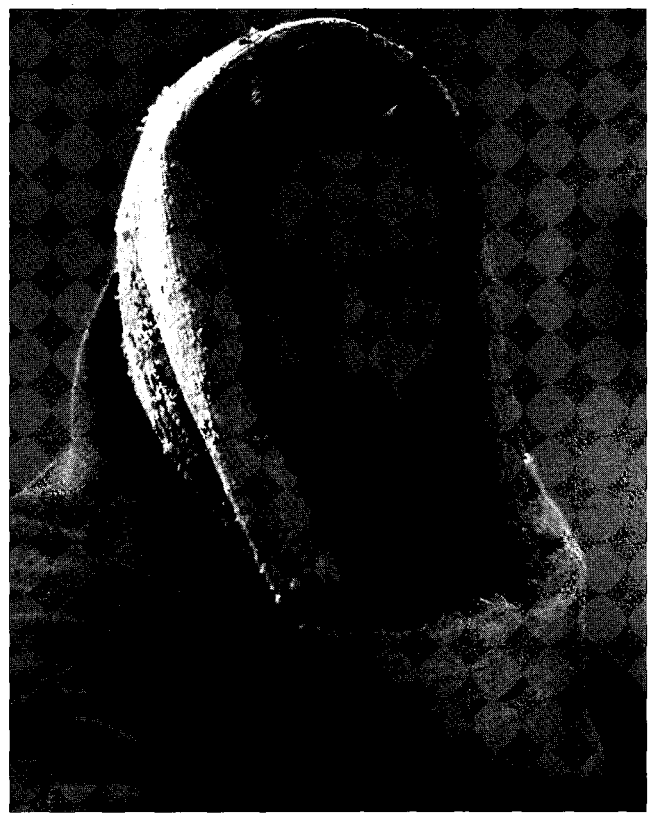
answer. But it may be worth noting—it is not the least significant comment in the movie—that Jesus Christ asks His Father to forgive His killers.

After anti-Semitism, the question I have been asked most often is how well the movie was done. Does it "work"? That's a question that can be understood in several ways. The tale is told well and gruesomely. The spoken language of the movie—Aramaic, Hebrew, and Latin—conveys a sense of historicity, while the subtitles make the events comprehensible (within the limits of language to make these particular events comprehensible) and are not distracting. The casting is excellent. The decision not to use any big-name stars was obviously right. The only one who appears is Gibson, whose hand drives the first nail into the cross. I am not so sure about the creepily androgynous devil, who reminds me a little of one of the evil counselors in *Star Wars*, or maybe *Battlestar Galactica*. (Or perhaps the evil-counselor archetype is based on Satan.) No gesture is wasted.



James Caviezel plays Jesus

PHILIPPE ANTONELLO/ICON DISTRIBUTION

People always want to know whether the movie is faithful to the book, or in this case the Book. The answer is yes. There are some elements of pious Catholic tradition that appear in the movie—notably Veronica's veil. I doubt most Protestants will object, since these elements contradict neither the letter nor spirit of Scripture (which is why it can be in the pious tradition).

There is some defensible artistic license. The movie starts with our story in progress. To set the theme, Satan appears at the beginning of the movie in the garden seeking to fill Jesus with doubt. Can one man take on the full burden of all sin? Judas, committing suicide, shows his answer to be no. Jesus says yes.

The nails are driven into His hands, when His wrists would have been more historically accurate. Christ carries the whole cross, not just the crossbeam. These are also defensible choices, if not the ones I would have wanted.

The movie is not comprehensive. We do not hear all seven of Jesus's last words, which I regret. The descent into Hell is not depicted, although the devil does make a final appearance when Jesus is taken down from the cross. I could not tell whether Satan was shrieking in pain or delight—whether the frenzy was that of imagined victory or final defeat—and perhaps that is just as well. I recalled then the sadism of the guards as they perverted some of the greatest gifts God has given us: joy, laughter, fun.

How Catholic is the movie? Very. But it is not Catholic in a way that excludes Protestants. The film's Marian devotion is a devotion to the Lord through His mother. (Scrawled on my notepad: "This is what the beauty of holiness would look like.") She is the counterpart to Lucifer: the faithful servant versus the faithless one. In recent years there has been much discussion of "evangelicals and Catholics together." There has been joint political action and joint theological reflection. In the popular culture, this movie appears to be the most significant moment of such togetherness yet. Other Christians need not feel excluded by the movie, but it is among these two groups that its most enthusiastic fans have already been found. If the film is truly a "success," one way it will be a success is in drawing evangelicals and Catholics together where they should most be together: in Christ. Both groups should pray that they are drawn, together, to Christ, by Christ.

Some of my friends have asked me whether I thought the movie would make non-Christians reconsider their faiths or unfaiths. It is not beyond the Lord's power to reach people's hearts in this way. But I suspect that Christ crucified will remain folly to the Greeks. The movie may make Christianity seem more, rather than less, alien and strange. As powerful as I believe this movie is, I have no doubt that there will be those who choose to mock it. There are Christophobes among us; and these are not people for whom the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom. They are people who, for various reasons, some of them understandable, all of them sad, are alarmed by any sign of increased Christian vigor.

The mood in which Christians should watch the movie, in which they can hardly help being as they watch it, is penitential. They should be careful to avoid the temptation to make of this movie more than it is. I have heard that people who run into Jim Caviezel on the street have tried to touch him. But Caviezel is not the Lord Jesus Christ. To watch the movie is not to receive a sacrament. Mel Gibson's *Passion* is not Christ's Passion. You can mock the first without mocking the second, although you can also of course mock both.

What I hope is that the movie will help to effect a deeper conversion of the already converted. I walked out of the theater into the cold sunlight and pot smoke of a Manhattan sidewalk. If we leave this film reminded that this world is not our home but only a way station, then Gibson will have done a mighty work for the Lord. We will remember that He is being crucified, and doing His saving work, every day, every moment, as I write, as you read. **NR**

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■ CAMPAIGN 2004

Bush and the National Guard: Case Closed

The facts about the president's service

BYRON YORK

Ask retired Brig. Gen. William Turnipseed whether the press has accurately reported what he said about George W. Bush, and you'll get an earful. "No, I don't think they have," he begins. Turnipseed, the former head of the 187th Tactical Reconnaissance Group of the Alabama Air National Guard, was widely quoted as saying he never saw Bush in Alabama in 1972, and if the future president *had* been there, he would remember. In fact, Turnipseed says, he doesn't recall whether Bush was there or not; the young flier, then a complete unknown in Alabama, was never part of the 900-man 187th, so Turnipseed wouldn't have had much reason to notice him. But most reporters haven't been interested in Turnipseed's best recollection. "They don't understand the Guard, they don't want to understand the Guard, and they hate Bush," he says. "So when I say, 'There's a good possibility that Bush showed up,' why would they put that in their articles?"

In recent weeks, Turnipseed has found himself in the middle of a battle in which Democrats have called the president a "deserter" who went "AWOL" for an entire year during his time in the Air National Guard. When Democrats made those accusations—amplified by extensive press coverage—the White House was slow to fight back, insisting that the issue, which came up in the 2000 campaign, was closed and did not merit a response. It was only after NBC's Tim Russert brought the story up during a one-hour interview with the president on February 8 that the White House changed course and released records of the president's Guard service.

Those records have not quieted the most determined of the president's enemies—no one who watches the Democratic opposition really believed they would—but they do make a strong case that Bush fulfilled his duties and met the requirements for Air National Guard officers during his service from 1968 to 1973. A look at those records, along with interviews with people who knew Bush at the time, suggests that after all the shouting is over, and some of the basic facts become known, this latest line of attack on the president will come to nothing.

FOUR YEARS OF FLYING

The controversy over Bush's service centers on what his critics call "the period in question," that is, the time from May 1972 until May 1973. What is not mentioned as often is that that period was in fact Bush's *fifth* year in the Guard, one that followed four years of often intense service.

Bush joined in May 1968. He went through six weeks of basic training—a full-time job—at Lackland Air Force Base in San Antonio, Tex. Then he underwent 53 weeks of flight training—again, full time—at Moody Air Force Base in Valdosta, Ga. Then he underwent 21 weeks of fighter interceptor training—full time—at Ellington Air Force Base in Houston. Counting other, shorter, postings in between, by the end of his training period Bush had served two years on active duty.

Certified to fly the F-102 fighter plane, Bush then began a period of frequent—usually weekly—flying. The F-102 was designed to shoot down other fighter planes, and the missions Bush flew

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were training flights, mostly over the Gulf of Mexico and often at night, in which pilots took turns being the predator and the prey. "If you're going to practice how to shoot down another airplane, then you have to have another airplane up there to work on," recalls retired Col. William Campenni, who flew with Bush in 1970 and 1971. "He'd be the target for the first half of the mission, and then we'd switch."

During that period Bush's superiors gave him consistently high ratings as a pilot. "Lt. Bush is an exceptional fighter interceptor pilot and officer," wrote one in a 1972 evaluation. Another evaluation, in 1971, called Bush "an exceptionally fine young officer and pilot" who "continually flies intercept missions with the unit to increase his proficiency even further." And a third rating, in 1970, said Bush "clearly stands out as a top notch fighter interceptor pilot" and was also "a natural leader whom his contemporaries look to for leadership."

All that flying involved quite a bit of work. "Being a pilot is more than just a monthly appearance," says Bob Harmon, a former Guard pilot who was a member of Bush's group in 1971 and 1972. "You cannot maintain your currency by doing just one drill a month. He was flying once or twice a week during that time, from May of 1971 until May of 1972." While the work was certainly not as dangerous as fighting in the jungles of Vietnam, it wasn't exactly safe, either. Harmon remembers a half-dozen Texas Air National Guard fliers who died in accidents over the years, including one during the time Bush was flying. "This was not an endeavor without risk," Harmon notes.

THE MOVE TO ALABAMA

The records show that Bush kept up his rigorous schedule of flying through the spring of 1972: He was credited for duty on ten days in March of that year, and seven days in April. Then, as Bush began his fifth year of service in the Guard, he appears to have stepped back dramatically. The records indicate that he received no credit in May, June, July, August, and September 1972. In October, he was credited with two days, and in November he was credited with four. There were no days in December, and then six in January 1973. Then there were no days in February and March.

The change was the result of Bush's decision to go to Alabama to work on the Senate campaign of Republican Winton Blount. With an obligation to the Guard, Bush asked to perform equivalent service in Alabama. That was not an unusual request, given that members of the Guard, like everyone else, often moved around the country. "It was a common thing," recalls Brigadier General Turnipseed. "If we had had a guy in Houston, he could have made equivalent training with Bush's unit. It was so common that the guy who wrote the letter telling Bush to come didn't even tell me about it."

The president's critics have charged that he did not show up for service—was "AWOL"—in Alabama. Bush says he did serve, and his case is supported by records showing that he was paid and given retirement credit for days of service while he was known to be in Alabama. The records also show that Bush received a dental examination on January 6, 1973, at Dannelly Air National Guard base, home of the 187th (January 6 was one of the days that pay records show Bush receiving credit for service). And while a number of Guard members at the base say they do not remember seeing Bush among the roughly 900 men who served there during that time, another member, a retired lieutenant named John Calhoun, says he remembers seeing Bush at the base several times.

What seems most likely is that Bush was indeed at Dannelly, but there was not very much for a non-flying pilot to do. Flying fighter jets involves constant practice and training; Bush had to know when he left Texas that he would no longer be able to engage in either one very often, which meant that he would essentially leave flying, at least for some substantial period of time. In addition, the 187th could not accommodate another pilot, at least regularly. "He was not going to fly," says Turnipseed. "We didn't have enough airplanes or sorties to handle our own pilots, so we wouldn't have done it for some guy passing through."

On the other hand, showing up for drills was still meeting one's responsibility to the Guard. And, as 1973 went along, the evidence suggests that Bush stepped up his work to make up for the time he had missed earlier. In April of that year, he received credit for two days; in May, he received credit for 14 days; in June, five days; and in July, 19 days. That was the last service Bush performed in the Guard. Later that year, he asked for and received permission to leave the Guard early so he could attend Harvard Business School. He was given an honorable discharge after serving five years, four months, and five days of his original six-year commitment.

The records indicate that, despite his move to Alabama, Bush met his obligation to the Guard in the 1972-73 year. At that time, Guardsmen were awarded points based on the days they reported for duty each year. They were given 15 points just for being in the Guard, and were then required to accumulate a total of 50 points to satisfy the annual requirement. In his first four years of service, Bush piled up lots of points; he earned 253 points in his first year, 340 in his second, 137 in his third, and 112 in his fourth. For the year from May 1972 to May 1973, records show Bush earned 56 points, a much smaller total, but more than the minimum requirement (his service was measured on a May-to-May basis because he first joined the Guard in that month in 1968).

Bush then racked up another 56 points in June and July of 1973, which met the minimum requirement for the 1973-74 year, which was Bush's last year of service. Together, the record "clearly shows that First Lieutenant George W. Bush has satisfactory years for both '72-'73 and '73-'74, which proves that he completed his military obligation in a satisfactory manner," says retired Lt. Col. Albert Lloyd, a Guard personnel officer who reviewed the records at the request of the White House.

All in all, the documents show that Bush served intensively for four years and then let up in his fifth and sixth years, although he still did enough to meet Guard requirements. The records also suggest that Bush's superiors were not only happy with his performance from 1968 to 1972, but also happy with his decision to go to Alabama. Indeed, Bush's evaluating officer wrote in May 1972 that "Lt. Bush is very active in civic affairs in the community and manifests a deep interest in the operation of our government. He has recently accepted the position as campaign manager for a candidate for United States Senate. He is a good representative of the military and Air National Guard in the business world."

Beyond their apparent hope that Bush would be a good ambassador for the Guard, Bush's superiors might have been happy with his decision to go into politics for another reason: They simply had more people than they needed. "In 1972, there was an enormous glut of pilots," says Campenni. "The Vietnam War was winding

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down, and the Air Force was putting pilots in desk jobs. In '72 or '73, if you were a pilot, active or Guard, and you had an obligation and wanted to get out, no problem. In fact, you were helping them solve *their* problem."

THE UNENDING ATTACK

Despite the evidence, Democrats have continued to accuse the president of shirking his duty during his Guard career. "He went to Alabama for one year," Democratic National Committee chairman Terry McAuliffe said on ABC on February 1. "He didn't show up. Call it whatever you want, AWOL, it doesn't matter." After Bush made his Guard records public, McAuliffe released a statement saying the documents "create more questions than answers." Other Democrats, as well as an energetic team of liberal columnists and bloggers, echoed McAuliffe's comments.

Perhaps the most impressive accomplishment of Bush's detractors is that they managed to sell the idea—mostly unchallenged in the press—that Bush's Air National Guard service consisted of one year during which he didn't show up for duty. Far fewer people asked the question: Just how did Bush become a fighter pilot in the first place? Didn't that involve, say, years of work? Bush's four years of service prior to May 1972 were simply airbrushed out of the picture because many reporters did not believe they were part of the story.

It also seems likely that some of Bush's adversaries used the Guard issue as a way to get at other questions about the president. The Guard record was said to have a bearing on Bush's credibility, on the war in Iraq, on his fitness to lead. In addition, some journalists were nearly obsessed with forcing the president to release medical records from his time in the Guard because they hoped those records might reveal some evidence of drug use. The White House did not release the full set of medical records but did allow reporters to view them; the documents were entirely unexceptional and contained nothing about drug use.

While all that was going on, both the White House and the Bush reelection campaign seemed consistently to underestimate the ferocity and resolve of the president's adversaries. For weeks, as the controversy grew, the president did nothing to defend himself. Those who wanted to speak up in his defense, like William Campenni and Bob Harmon, were not contacted by the White House; instead, they decided to go public on their own. Even when John Calhoun, the man who remembers Bush in Alabama, sent the White House an e-mail saying he had useful information, he received a stock response, without any indication the White House was interested in what he had to say.

Now the evidence is public; anyone who is interested in learning about Bush's service can do so. In the end, the president had the facts on his side. But he also had the good fortune to have the allegiance of men who feel so intensely about the Guard and their service that they wanted to speak out even if the White House didn't seem to care. Men like Campenni and Harmon were deeply offended when Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry equated Guard service during the Vietnam War with fleeing the country or going to jail. That was simply too much. "I'm not a Bushie," says Harmon. "The thing that got a few of us crawling out from under a rock, at no instigation from the White House, was that Guard service was being portrayed as being like a draft dodger." **NR**

■ **PUBLIC POLICY**

Leaving Republicans Behind

President Bush's signature education initiative is backfiring

KATE O'BEIRNE

WHEN George W. Bush hit the campaign trail in 2000, Republicans ranked more than 20 points behind Democrats on which party best handled the issue of education. In 2002, Republicans were delighted to find that that deficit had vanished—thanks to President Bush's advocacy for his landmark education-reform plan, No Child Left Behind. Today, however, while the president's personal ratings still have him at the head of the class on education, his fellow Republicans have been left behind: Democrats once again enjoy a double-digit advantage on education, and the plan's bipartisan support didn't survive the Iowa caucuses. To curry favor with many unhappy school officials and the teachers' unions, Democratic candidates have been championing local control of schools and hammering the same reform plan they voted for. Ted Kennedy, whose crucial support made Bush's school-accountability proposal a reality, refuses to be accountable for its effects, angrily blaming Republican parsimony for shortchanging his vision. If opposition to the reform grows and the sweeping plan fails to deliver on its ambitious goals, Democrats will strengthen their advantage on education issues—and Republicans alone will be held responsible for the most unpopular regime Washington ever attempted to impose on our public schools.

The federal government has traditionally made only a relatively modest contribution toward meeting the state and local costs of education; it has thus been referred to as a "seven-percent investor" in an enterprise largely owned by others. The No Child Left Behind (NCLB) plan leverages that investment to expand the federal role in education and impose requirements that affect every public school in America. With the admirable aim of boosting the achievement of all students, holding schools responsible for academic progress, and clearly informing parents about schools' comparative success, Washington now presides over a new system of state standards and transparent accountability.

THE HEAVY FEDERAL HAND

Conservatives were early critics of NCLB, objecting to its

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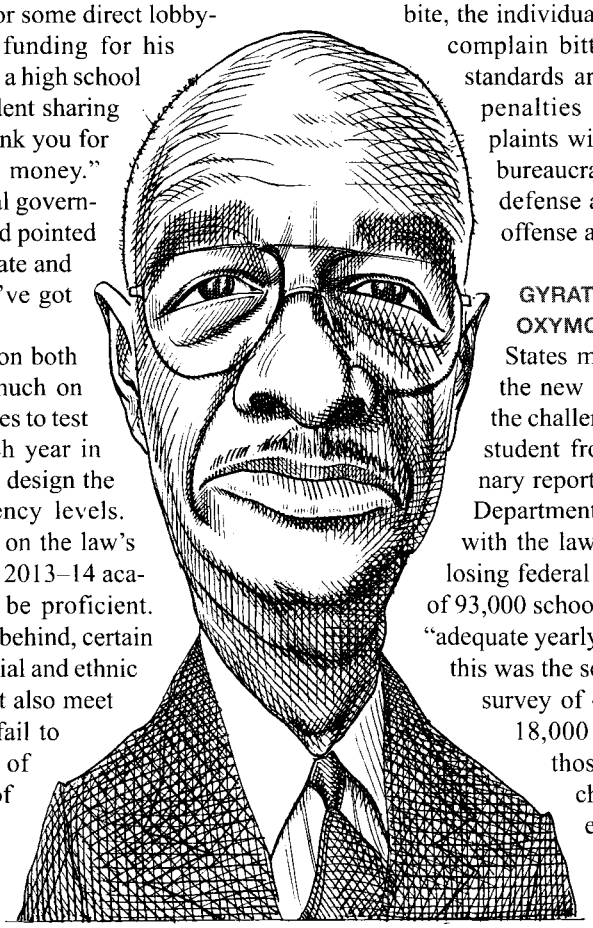
higher spending and federal mandates on local schools and to the absence of any provision for private school choice. They were in the small minority when the bill passed the House by a wide margin (381–41), with more Democrats than Republicans voting in favor of it. NCLB has not been met with the same overwhelming support back home and conservatives who voted nay are pleased that they did. Rep. Mike Pence, Republican of Indiana, says, "I have no regrets at all. I'm still waiting to meet someone in my district who disagrees with that vote." A half-dozen states are considering refusing federal funds to avoid the reform's requirements, and local education officials are appealing to their congressmen for relief from the law's requirements. Rep. Pete Hoekstra, a Michigan Republican, also opposed the bill and recounts a recent attack on the plan by Howard Dean that reminded him of what Republicans once said about education. "Michigan schools are a lot better off being run by people in Michigan than by bureaucrats like George Bush and Tom DeLay," Dean (no doubt angrily) told his audience.

Hoekstra points out that Dean's charge is far harder to counter than Democratic claims that the reform is under-funded: "In the last three to five years, Republicans have put more money into education than Democrats ever dreamed of putting into the Education Department." Under the Bush administration, federal spending on education has increased 48 percent. Overall school spending had already increased by 15 percent during the 1990s, from about $8,000 per pupil in 1990 to more than $9,200 in 2000—with no discernable impact on student achievement. Still, even the president has come in for some direct lobbying on the need to provide higher funding for his reforms. When he recently appeared at a high school in Pennsylvania, the local superintendent sharing the stage chided him, "We want to thank you for the push, but we need a little more money." Bush replied that he thought the federal government was doing enough on funding and pointed out, "Most funding should be at the state and local level in order to make sure you've got local control of the schools."

But on this score, the law's critics on both left and right think it infringes too much on local prerogatives. NCLB requires states to test all students in reading and math each year in grades three through eight. The states design the tests and set the minimum proficiency levels. Targets for student proficiency based on the law's formula must be steadily met until the 2013–14 academic year, when all students must be proficient. Because, literally, no child is to be left behind, certain demographic subgroups, including racial and ethnic minorities and disabled children, must also meet the targeted goals. Schools can also fail to meet the requisite target, regardless of test scores, if fewer than 95 percent of students from any designated group take the test.

If a school doesn't make adequate progress for two years, more money is provided. If the school receives Title I funds for disadvantaged students, students in the failing school must be allowed to move to another public school in the same district. Progressively stronger sanctions for persistently failing schools include, after five years of failure, reconstituting the school and replacing its administrators and teachers. Teachers'-union rules remain in effect, however, so nonproductive teachers in failing schools could wind up simply moving to another school.

In creating a reform based on testing and accountability, Washington's landmark proposal was actually an exercise in playing follow-the-leader. In 1996, only ten states had adopted new testing and accountability reforms. By 2000, only 13 states didn't have some version of the reform in place. But the experience with these state reforms indicates that they are not accompanied by a repeal of the law of gravity. Paul E. Peterson, a Harvard researcher and senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, notes that "accountability systems tend to soften over time. They get legislated like lions and implemented like lambs." In response to the opinion of Peterson and other skeptics, detailed in over a dozen essays in a Brookings Institution study, "No Child Left Behind? The Politics and Practice of School Accountability," secretary of education Rod Paige says: "I have a prediction of my own. And that prediction is that we're going to hold the line against softer accountability." Paige is determined to resist a powerful trend. As the Brookings study explains, "Tough accountability has vague, general support from broad constituencies, but, as its coercive teeth begin to bite, the individuals and groups most directly affected complain bitterly. To ease political opposition, standards are lowered, exceptions granted, and penalties postponed." Under NCLB, complaints will be directed at distant Washington bureaucrats, with state officials, once on the defense about their own plans, now playing offense against federal officials.



ROMAN GENN

Secretary of Education Rod Paige

GYRATING STANDARDS AND OTHER OXYMORONS

States modified their existing plans to meet the new federal requirements, grappled with the challenge of collecting test results on every student from each school, and made preliminary reports on their progress to the Education Department last year. (If states fail to comply with the law's reporting requirements, they risk losing federal education funds.) About 26,000 out of 93,000 schools were found to have failed to make "adequate yearly progress." For some Title I schools, this was the second year that goals weren't met. A survey of 41 urban school districts found that 18,000 students, fewer than 2 percent of those eligible to take advantage of the choice provision, transferred to another public school last fall. More than half of the 44,000 students who requested transfers were turned down. Although federal officials insist that every student eligible for

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a transfer "must have that opportunity," some states can be counted on to figure out a way not to comply. In California, for example, the state official charged with compliance confusingly argues that while a school district cannot use the excuse that no room exists in the preferred school, extra space need not be created; she advises her districts merely to "document that they made the effort."

Award-winning schools face a different problem when they, too, are found to be failing. State officials are embarrassed, and parents are left wondering whom to believe. Florida governor Jeb Bush bucked his state's teachers' unions and instituted a statewide test in 1999 that permits students in persistently failing schools to transfer to either another public school or a private school. He has been heralding the demonstrable increases in test scores: Florida's fourth graders score in the top ten nationwide in writing, and fourth and eighth graders post reading gains well above the national average. Last fall, however, *Education Week* reported that in preliminary NCLB results nearly 90 percent of Florida's public schools had failed to make "adequate yearly progress" in the previous academic year. And Florida is not alone: North Carolina, Kentucky, and Louisiana all had seen boosts in test scores under their state reforms—yet face having the majority of their schools found failing. Former Louisiana governor Mike Foster is still looking for a way to reconcile what he regards as his successful state reform with the demands of NCLB. "States still have some rights," the Republican has declared. "I have a lot of friends in Washington. If they don't give us some flexibility in the law, I'll tell you this: We won't go quietly."

The preliminary results under NCLB have varied wildly across the states. In Minnesota, only 8 percent of schools failed the grade. More than half the public schools in Delaware, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania failed. Writing in *Education Week* last fall, the former president of the American Educational Research Association explained the "staggering" differences in results among the states by pointing out that some states have lowered the scores necessary for students to be declared "proficient," making it far easier to show the requisite "progress" in future years.

State flexibility has also led to dramatic discrepancies in state performance when it comes to meeting some of NCLB's other demands. States are allowed to create their own definitions of what qualifies as a "persistently dangerous" school that students must be allowed to transfer out of in favor of a safer public school. According to an *Education Week* survey, Philadelphia has more dangerous schools than the rest of the nation combined; the District of Columbia (where officials are planning to replace the current platoons of private security guards with police officers following a recent fatal school shooting) and 44 states reported no "persistently dangerous" schools. Under New York's standard, a school with 1,000 students must have 30 or more weapons incidents for two years in a row to get labeled.

BLAME THE REPUBLICANS—AGAIN

At once flexible and stringent, NCLB attempts to corral recalcitrant state officials by refusing to accept the typical excuses for the demonstrably poor state of too many of our schools. But Washington's will is no match for the commitment of local officials to protecting their turf and comfortable tenures. If a state's public officials are determined to impose and enforce tough requirements on their schools—as Governor Bush is in Florida and Governor Bush was in Texas—they don't need federal pressure to demand accountability. If local officials lack the energy and resolve to make fundamental reforms, Washington's demands will be subverted despite the resolve of such proven reformers as Secretary Paige and Deputy Secretary Eugene Hickok. Unless the Education Department plans on becoming an omnipotent national school board, states must be permitted significant flexibility. School systems not prepared to be held accountable will exploit the flexibility to avoid unpleasant consequences, as some of the preceding examples demonstrate. For these reasons, conservatives believe, the education issue presents a classic example of why all national problems don't have federal solutions. Already, state officials have taken to blaming President Bush's reform plan for any and all local problems. Public-school parents are left confused: Despite the national evidence on the lack of student achievement, and the national alarm first raised 20 years ago in *A Nation at Risk*, they continue to give high grades to their own schools and generally trust their local teachers and officials.

> The education issue presents a classic example of why all national problems don't have federal solutions.

Republican congressmen are being schooled in how to explain and defend NCLB, armed with polling data that show public support for its aims. But professional educators are the most directly affected constituency, and congressmen are no match for school officials complaining about the intricacies of curricula, testing, and teacher quality. Parents' attitudes toward accountability, beyond their support for the abstract notion, are frustratingly ambivalent. Many have even joined teachers and principals in arguing for less stringent testing under the previous state-level reforms.

The success of No Child Left Behind will depend on whether the objections being raised mark a difficult adjustment period that will pass, or are signs that the plan is unable to win the level of local support it must in order to work. With Democrats positioned to join state officials in blaming Republicans for any dissatisfaction with the law, the most permanent accountability feature of the reform could be a failing grade for the GOP on education. **NR**

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■ POLITICS

What 'Republican' Should Mean

Say it loud, say it proud

DAVID GELERNTER

WHAT is a Republican? A boring, academic-sounding question, but an important one. We are headed into the most decisive presidential election since 1980. Democrats seem to know where they stand: Whatever President Bush is for, they're against. Not inspiring, but it makes them happy. Republicans, though, must do better: A simple transposition of the Democratic program ("Whatever the president is for, so are we") is not enough. The country needs to know what principles Republicans stand for. And our principles have nothing to do with Iraq or tax cuts, not directly; Republican principles go deeper. They are democracy and patriotism. Democrats go ballistic: "How dare you appropriate principles like those? They belong to us too; to the whole nation." Democrats would like for there to be no discussions about patriotism, much less (please!) about democracy. They'd like it to be taken for granted that we all feel the same way about those principles.

Unfortunately, we don't.

Nowadays "Democrat" and "Republican" are not so much different policy approaches as different personalities. Some Democrats, for example, wanted Iraq to be another Vietnam. Seriously wanted it—not because they wanted 50,000 Americans to die in a lost cause (that would be a ghoulish accusation), but for their own personal, private reasons. They wanted a new generation of mass rallies and peace marches and Woodstocks and summers of love. Some Democrats remember those times as the happiest of their lives. Others hadn't been born in 1969, but have heard the era described in such glowing, psychedelic colors that naturally they miss it vicariously. They wanted Iraq to be Vietnam, were sure it would be, and feel cheated that it isn't. But this is a personality problem, not a policy preference.

A reflection of how things have changed: Forty-three years ago, John F. Kennedy became president; three years ago it was George W. Bush's turn. Recall that Kennedy went to Harvard and George W. Bush to Yale (his father did too). Back in the early 1960s, Harvard made a big deal over the fact that America's president was a Harvard man. Harvard people made plenty of noise about that. Yale doesn't feel *quite* the same way about George W. Bush.

A minor but memorable photo-op from the JFK years was the presentation to the president of a Harvard chair. People—or at least certain people—went around saying that "the seat of government is a Harvard chair." They loved seeing that Harvard chair in the Oval Office. No one seems to feel any need to see a Yale chair in the Oval Office today—not Yale, nor the president, nor anyone else I can think of. Why?

PRIDE AS PREJUDICE?

This is partly because Yale, Harvard, and similar institutions are vastly less popular today than they were in 1960. Which itself is a paradox: You won't find people anywhere who worship egalitarianism and "inclusiveness" as fervently as Yale or Harvard professors—yet there has never been such a huge spiritual gap between our top colleges and the country at large as there is today. At any rate, there is no longer anything to be gained politically by associating yourself with Yale or Harvard. National attitudes toward major universities have changed greatly since 1960, but one thing is the same—most professors are liberal. So there is another obvious answer to my question. Harvard championed Kennedy in a way Yale would never even consider championing Bush, because Kennedy called himself liberal, and Bush is called a conservative.

The problem with this explanation is that, in terms of policy and worldview, John F. Kennedy and George W. Bush are practically identical, as close to equivalent as two presidents can be across a forty-year span. On civil rights, Bush is much stronger than Kennedy ever was (but the passage of time has something to do with that); otherwise, they agree on all sorts of issues. They agree that tax cuts are worth fighting for. They want a big federal role in education and social welfare, but don't want to spend too much money on it (or say they don't). Most important: They both champion an activist foreign policy, the goal of which is to protect the United States and fight totalitarian tyranny; to speak up, stand up, and fight for American ideals all over the world. You might argue that the main difference between Bush's policy in Afghanistan and Iraq and Kennedy's in Cuba, Laos, and Vietnam is that Bush's seems to be working.

But if Kennedy and Bush are so similar, why should Harvard in 1960 and Yale today have reacted so differently? The simple answer: Universities are in favor of "liberals" and are against "conservatives," and it's not policies that matter. Style, accent, and glamour matter; stroking matters (Kennedy was always playing up to intellectuals); above all, labels matter.

This simple answer points to a larger truth. The circa-1960 Harvard that was so proud of Kennedy was also proud of America. Not always, and not invariably. You could already hear dissenting voices, loud and clear. But on the whole, that long-ago Harvard was proud of this country's history and traditions, proud of what the U.S. stood for in the world. And on the whole, universities that are indifferent (at best) to Bush today are ashamed of America—of its history and traditions, of what it stands for. In 1960 American universities in general tended to be proud of this

Mr. Gelernter is a professor of computer science at Yale, and author of the novel 1939 and other books. This essay is adapted from a speech given to the Republicans of Connecticut's General Assembly.

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country; today they are mostly ashamed of it. In fact, they are proud to be ashamed of it.

Which points to a still larger truth: Liberals and conservatives tend, nowadays, to have radically different views of American history. America's history has shameful episodes; no conservative would deny that. And it has proud episodes—no liberal would deny that. But how do we size it all up? The "liberal" verdict is shame, the "conservative" verdict, pride.

But even as conservatives admit that we have done shameful things, they also can't help thinking about how much we've regretted them, and how hard we have worked to put them right. And they tend to remember how we helped rescue Europe from brutal aggression in World War I; helped save the world from Nazism and blood-thirsty Japanese gangsterism in World War II—and funded the rebuilding and defense of Europe (as well as Japan) afterward. Or how we defended South Korea, and fought and suffered for the good cause in Vietnam. Or how we have stood up, virtually alone, for Israel.

Conservatives look at how much we've accomplished in Afghanistan, and the amazing things we've done in Iraq—and, all in all, you might conclude that "Republican" means "American and proud" and "Democrat" means "American and ashamed." Liberals don't like to hear this; but the truth is the truth. Conservatives think of liberal shame as self-hatred; liberals think of conservative pride as chauvinism. It comes down to a fundamental divide in personality and world outlook.

And this raises all sorts of questions. Are you proud or ashamed of your own ancestors? If left-wingers are correct, and this nation used to be inhabited by exploiters and victims just about exclusively, what about their own American ancestors? You can't be proud of an exploiter, and no rational person can be proud of a victim either (you feel sorry for victims, not proud of them).

What about your female ancestors, mothers, grandmothers, great-grandmothers—are you proud of what they achieved, or do you look at them as passive victims of the male patriarchy? Mine were no passive victims; mine

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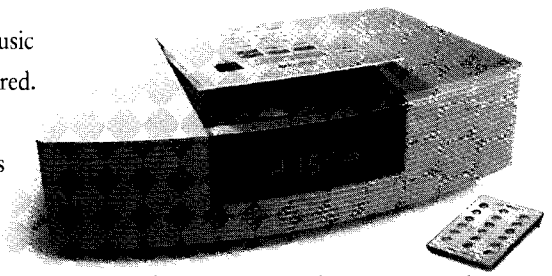

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were no one's victims. And they sure as hell didn't need NOW or Hillary Clinton to give them self-respect and dignity, because they were born with it; and it had nothing to do with whether they had jobs and earned money or stayed home to rear children and create human beings.

And what about the religion of your parents or grandparents or great-grandparents? If you go back far enough, even a post-modern deconstructionist professor is the descendent not only of apes but of church-goers, or synagogue-goers. What about your religious forefathers? Were they ignorant, superstitious dumb bunnies? Or did they know what they were doing? Mine knew exactly what they were doing: They took their religious lives seriously, and they were just as smart as I am; possibly a lot smarter.

KANGAROO COURTS

And so we reach the bottom line: Will you have shame or pride in this nation's history and your own ancestors' part in it? Many Republicans choose pride. Many Democrats are—at best—not sure. It used to be that Republicans and Democrats at least agreed about core values. Today, core values are exactly what they disagree about. Two of these core beliefs may sound abstract, but have never had such precise, concrete meanings as they do today. And rarely in this country's history have they been more important. They are democracy and patriotism.

Will you have shame or pride in this nation's history and your own ancestors' part in it? Many Republicans choose pride. Many Democrats are—at best—not sure.

Why democracy? It's not a question of elections or voting, except indirectly. It's a question of courts.

Republicans wince. They hate talking about the courts. In this country the courts are sacred—at least they think they are, and attacking them makes you a right-wing nut. But rejecting the propaganda, and looking at the real issue, the truth is self-evident: In a democracy, the people and not the courts are meant to lay out the moral and social boundaries of society.

I don't want to discuss homosexual marriage; it makes me too angry. This is a question, ultimately, about rearing children, about who owns the commons in this country—the public space. It is not about what you are allowed to do; it is about what you are allowed to parade. It is about who has to hide if he wants to protect his children from the public culture. For my part, I am damned tired of hiding. Jews and Christians have let bullies take over the commons, and we ought to be ashamed of ourselves. (Evidently Republicans can be ashamed, too.)

But I don't want to discuss homosexual marriage. And I do want to concede something important: If the citizens of this country decide in favor of homosexual marriage, they have every right to put their decision into practice. This is no free-speech or freedom-of-religion issue; the majority has no right to decide against free speech, not under our Constitution as it stands. But homosexual marriage is not a constitutional issue. If the majority wants it, the majority can have it.

What's outrageous is for any court—state court, Supreme Court, or kangaroo court—to decide this issue. For courts to ordain homosexual marriage is the textbook definition of tyranny. It is exactly what tyranny is all about: a powerful minority imposing laws on the nation. (For those who believe, or claim to, that this is a constitutional issue, that homosexual marriage is implied by the Constitution, hiding somewhere where no one has noticed it heretofore . . . that claim is too absurd even to dismiss. The Founding Fathers would have had you committed.)

To prevent this kind of tyranny is exactly why 17th-century Englishmen rebelled against the absolute power of the king and vested that power in parliament instead, and then gradually made parliament represent the people. They wanted laws to be made by the people's representatives, not by some arrogant inner circle—not by the king and his court; not by any court. And to prevent this kind of tyranny is exactly why 18th-century Americans rebelled against the arbitrary power of the British government, and vested that power in their own representative assemblies instead. They did it so America would be free of arrogant minorities making laws to suit themselves.

But ever since *Roe* v. *Wade*, democracy has been under attack in this country, and neither party has had the courage to defend it. The real issue is not abortion, is not affirmative action, is not homosexual marriage. The issue is democracy.

Let the people decide. There should be no anti-abortion plank in the Republican national platform, no anti-homosexual-marriage plank. Instead let's have a democracy plank. First things first: There is no point trying to convince the citizens of this country that abortion is wrong; no one is asking the citizens. Their views are irrelevant.

And patriotism, along with democracy, should be the essence of Republicanism. I'm not questioning John Kerry's patriotism, or any Democrat's. That's not the issue. The question is: Where do you rank patriotism as a public virtue? How important is patriotism? Important enough to teach to our children? Anyone who has looked over our young people nowadays knows that, since we no longer teach them to be patriotic, many no longer are. And no country has the luxury of not speaking up for itself to its own children in its own schools. But for the last generation, maybe more, we have run our schools as if we were too sophisticated to teach children that it is right and fitting to love your country.

If we are serious about defeating terrorism, one step is more important than any other. We had better teach children why we fight. We had better teach them why Western civilization and the U.S.A. are worth defending against terrorists who mean to destroy us. And we had better start now. That is what "Republican" means, or ought to. **NR**

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the long view

ROB LONG

From the John Kerry Inbox

TO: skindoc@cosmeticsurgerypartners.com
FROM: PurrPlHrt@aol.com
SUBJ: looseness around the jaw and neck???

Did you see the debate last night? Teresa tells me I looked loose and "raisin-y" again. When can you get here for another treatment?

JK (Purple Heart)

TO: PurrPlHrt@aol.com
FROM: MisterFlorida@comcast.net
SUBJ: Tough choices ahead . . .

Lookin' great in last night's debate! Just great!

You and me, we had some good times in the Senate together, didn't we? Sure we did. Some great times. You and me, we both got a lot of important bills and laws and whatnot accomplished, I seem to recall. Can't name each one, of course. Can't go and list each thing like some kind of computer or something, but the important thing is, we're a good team, aren't we?

Anyways, just thought I'd "reach out" to my friend from Massachusetts, to let him know that he's got a friend in Florida. That's Florida, a southern state with 27 electoral votes. Where I'm senator from.

Love being a senator, of course. Best job in the world. Or best job as far as I know. Not many places a guy can go after the Senate, though, let's be honest. You've got your sights on one of the only two places a guy could conceivably go after serving in the Senate, it seems to me. And personally, I'm ready for some kind of change in my life. Got my eye on one of those Quizno's sub shop franchises, but I could be talked out of it.

Anyways. Good talking to you.

Senator Bob Graham

TO: MisterFlorida@comcast.net
FROM: PurrPlHrt@aol.com
SUBJ: RE: Tough choices ahead . . .

Dear Bob:
Thanks so much for your recent email. It means a great deal to me to have your support and friendship for the fight ahead.

Our finance chairman will be contacting you today to discuss your generous offer to chair our Victory '04 fundraising dinner in Tallahassee next month. As you know, we're trying to raise an additional $25 million, and with your help in Florida, we'll succeed.

I mean, won't we?

Senator John Kerry (Purple Heart)

TO: PurrPlHrt@aol.com
FROM: skindoc@cosmeticsurgerypartners.com
SUBJ: RE: looseness around the jaw and neck???

Senator:

I did notice last night some slight slackening around the left eyelid, and also some increased indentations along the forehead area. Elasticity in the fascia was also severely diminished.

We can handle this on an outpatient basis, of course, but I'm concerned that the sheer amount of product that you're contemplating might have adverse health effects.

For example, I also noted that some of your answers last night were muddled, and didn't quite "track," logically. In addition, you seemed slow to respond and even, at times, slightly irrational. This is a condition that develops when cosmetic product, such as botox, is overused. It is called "Liza Syndrome," named after the famous entertainer Liza Minnelli. In addition, an overuse of product can result in a hardening of the fascia tissue into an opaque mask. This is called "Cher Syndrome."

We certainly want to avoid either side effect, and for this reason it is our recommendation that treatments cease for 60 to 90 days.

Please advise.

TO: PurrPlHrt@aol.com
FROM: BigBill@Clinton.org
CC: jalter@newsweek.com; anagourney@nytimes.com; jcarney@timeinc.com; dvanatta@washingtonpost.com
SUBJ: Thanks for letting me help you win . . .

John:
So far, you're taking my advice and doing very well. I'm glad to have been able to help, and also glad that you reached out to me for advice.

It was especially gratifying to me to see you win Iowa and New Hampshire with such decisiveness. And then in the South, in Tennessee, where you also took my advice and strategic counsel, you won handily there, as well. It was a pleasure to help you and to be in such close contact with you and to guide you and mentor you and to also work behind the scenes with you on an off-the-record basis helping and guiding and strategizing with you as you get the nomination I have always wanted you to have.

Again, thanks for letting me guide you to the nomination. I was happy to help you and to mentor you.

Bill

TO: skindoc@cosmeticsurgerypartners.com
FROM: PurrPlHrt@aol.com
SUBJ: RE: RE: looseness around the jaw and neck???

I don't care about the side effects. Whatever you gave me a few weeks ago is wearing off, fast.

Two babies burst into tears today when I picked them up. Focus groups have described me as a "very tall catcher's mitt."

So get out here. Now!

TO: BigBill@Clinton.org
FROM: MAIL DELIVERY SUBSYSTEM
SUBJ: RE: THANKS FOR LETTING ME HELP YOU WIN . . .

A message (from <BigBill@Clinton.org>) was received at 19 Feb 2004 18:24:11 +0000.

The following addresses had delivery problems:

<PurrPlHrt@aol.com>
Permanent Failure:
551_no_longer_accepts_emails_from_that_domain_name_mail_refused
Delivery last attempted at Wed, 19 Feb 2004 18:24:21 -0000

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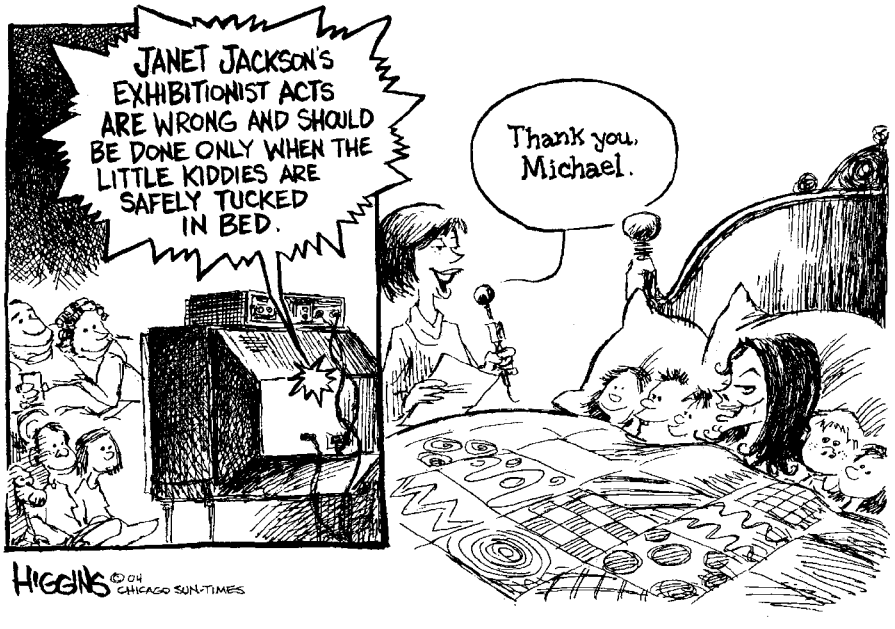
HELP !!!!

Doug Marlette
Tallahassee Democrat


JANET JACKSON'S EXHIBITIONIST ACTS ARE WRONG AND SHOULD BE DONE ONLY WHEN THE LITTLE KIDDIES ARE SAFELY TUCKED IN BED.
Thank you, Michael.
HIGGINS ©04 CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

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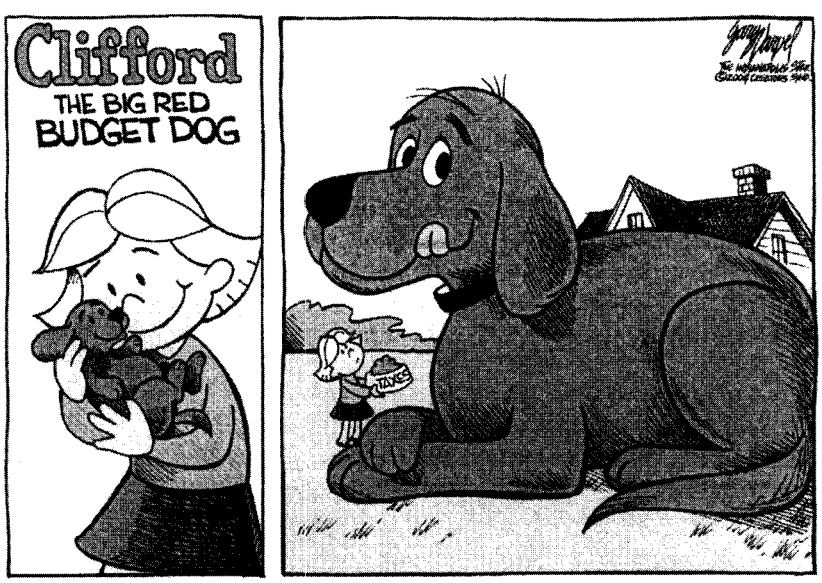
From the Osama CD

An Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,
Who seems to be starting to calve,
Complains that a suicide bomber's
A calling Iraqis don't have—
He has to import them; moreover,
His goons can't suborn the police,
The natives won't bunk them on weekends,
And, like, his tribe doesn't increase.

—W. H. von Dreele

"For a while we were saying that we 'cherish diversity'—then we decided, what the heck, let's just say we discriminate against the white kids."

"Don't you have any respect for human life? A conviction for murder could ruin my client's career!"



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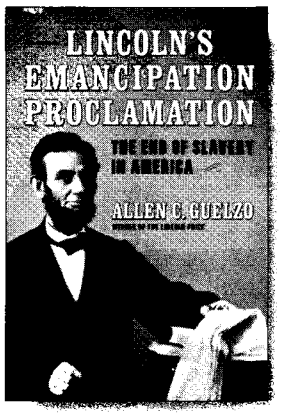
The Liberator



Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America, by Allen C. Guelzo (Simon & Schuster, 332 pp., $26)

MACKUBIN THOMAS OWENS

THERE was a time when every schoolboy learned that Abraham Lincoln was the "Great Emancipator" who freed the slaves, and that the Emancipation Proclamation was a crucial step in that process. Many historians have called this traditional account into question, arguing that Lincoln was not really motivated by a commitment to end slavery; they cite as evidence a famous letter to Horace Greeley, in which Lincoln proclaimed, "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and it is not either to save or destroy slavery." Many of Lincoln's critics go so far as to claim that he was no friend of blacks, and did not want to risk the political fallout that would result from emancipation, but was eventually forced to do so by circumstances. Many have also questioned the significance of the Emancipation Proclamation, arguing that it was a piece of propaganda that didn't actually free any slaves.

Mr. Owens, a contributing editor to National Review Online, is a professor of strategy and force planning at the Naval War College in Newport, R.I.

Unfortunately, Lincoln's defenders often don't do him any favors, claiming—for example—that he "grew in office," away from an original position of moral indifference regarding emancipation. In this magnificent new book, however, historian Allen Guelzo (author of the Lincoln Prize–winning 1999 book *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President*) makes a strong case for the traditional account: Lincoln was, in fact, committed to ending slavery—and the Emancipation Proclamation played a central role in his effort. Guelzo argues that "the Emancipation Proclamation was the most revolutionary pronouncement ever signed by an American president, striking the legal shackles from four million black slaves and setting the nation's face toward the total abolition of slavery within three more years." This book is a major accomplishment: It demolishes the simplistic views of Lincoln and slavery that have gained so much currency in recent years.

Guelzo places Lincoln's decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation in the context of political and military events. He claims that to understand Lincoln's policy, one must recognize the role of prudence—the practical wisdom that seeks the best means for achieving fixed ends. Aristotle claimed that prudence is the virtue most characteristic of the true statesman, and Guelzo contends that neither Lincoln's critics nor his defenders understand its importance. He argues persuasively that Lincoln's "face was set toward the goal of emancipation from the day he first took the presidential oath"; to achieve this goal, he planned out a policy of legislated, gradual, compensated emancipation. He believed he could convince Congress to appropriate funds for compensating slave owners to free their slaves gradually. His plan was to begin where slavery was weakest: in the northernmost slave states, especially Delaware. The key to his strategy was to convince the legislatures of slave states to change their statutes on slavery. The Constitution, after all, left the issue of slavery to the states. This state-legislative strategy offered the best chance for keeping the issue of emancipation out of the federal court system, where an unfavorable judgment could have been devastating.

This strategy explains his apparent lack of concern about the proposal—at the beginning of his term—of a constitutional amendment foreclosing forever the possibility that the federal government could interfere with the institution of slavery, even by future amendment. Lincoln was willing to accept this proposal as a way of bringing the seven states that had seceded back into the Union fold, but he adamantly refused any compromise on the *expansion* of slavery: In a series of letters to political leaders in December 1860, Lincoln urged them to "entertain no proposition" that would allow slavery's reach to be extended. He believed that if he could prevent the expansion of slavery into the federal territories and prevail upon state legislatures to accept gradual, compensated emancipation, he could shrink slavery, making it uneconomical and placing it back on the road to eventual extinction that he believed the Founders had envisioned.

The outbreak of war derailed the original version of his grand scheme, but even after the war began, Lincoln believed that if he could convince the legislatures of the loyal slave states to agree to compensated emancipation, he could end the rebellion, restore the Union, and begin the end of slavery. He reasoned that the combination of military success against the Confederacy and compensated emancipation in the loyal slave states would lead to the collapse of the Confederacy, which had staked its hopes on eventually incorporating the so-called border states.

But neither condition came to pass: Lincoln's proposals for compensated emancipation were rejected by the border states, and McClellan's army was driven back from Richmond. Lincoln concluded that he did not have the time to pursue his preferred legislative strategy in the border states, and that therefore something stronger and more precipitous was now needed to win the war. On September 22,

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1862, after the Union victory at Antietam, Lincoln issued a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation—giving the Confederates 100 days to submit to the Union or face the prospect of immediate emancipation.

Lincoln was taking an immense political gamble. Those who argue that Lincoln was only "waiting for the right time" to issue the Proclamation must confront the fact that, because of his action, the Republicans paid an enormous price in the 1862 elections. Guelzo writes that "the timing of the Proclamation amounted to political suicide." The Proclamation was also a gamble in another sense: It opened the possibility that emancipation would end up in the federal courts. Lincoln feared that if the federal judiciary under Chief Justice Roger Taney ever took up emancipation, it would become in effect the guarantor of slavery, setting back the prospect for all future emancipation just as *Dred Scott* had set back the effort to prevent the expansion of slavery into the territories. The fact that the *Prize Cases*, which essentially affirmed the legality of the Union's conduct of the war, were decided by a vote of only 5–4 in the midst of the war seems to confirm the wisdom of Lincoln's desire to keep emancipation out of the courts.

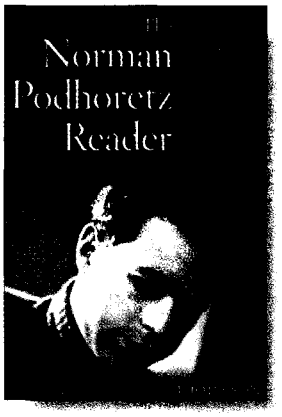
This desire also explains his preference for compensated emancipation over the alternatives: treatment of fugitive slaves under federal control as "contrabands of war"; confiscation; and emancipation as part of martial law. All these, he believed, were unconstitutional and open to legal challenge. Indeed, it was possible that even after a successful war to subdue the rebellion, a slaveholder whose property had been seized in this manner could sue successfully in federal court. "Once the war emergency was over," writes Guelzo, "the federal dockets would fill up with appeals that either attacked [martial law emancipation] proclamations as unconstitutional or denied that specific cases really fell within the definitions of the proclamation."

So why, in 1862, did Lincoln, who had treated emancipation with such a scrupulous regard for legalities, begin to contemplate a step that was vulnerable to similar objections? Guelzo argues that because 1) Unionist slaveholders rejected even the mildest legislative emancipation policy and 2) the Union war effort, before Antietam, was not visibly succeeding, Lincoln was left with a stark choice: issue a presidential proclamation or see emancipation swept off the table altogether. Of course, a long-term legislative solution was still required. (It would eventually be provided by the Thirteenth Amendment.) The Proclamation, writes Guelzo, "was an emergency measure, a substitute for the permanent plan that would really rid the country of slavery, but a substitute as sincere and profound as the timbers that shore up an endangered mine shaft, and prevent it from collapsing entirely."

But what about the claims that the Proclamation actually freed no slaves and that it was the slaves themselves who, by running away, put pressure on Lincoln and Congress to "catch up" with the reality of self-emancipation? Guelzo shows that this account has things backwards. Lincoln may not have had the *power* on January 1, 1863, to free every slave in the Confederacy, but he had the *authority* to do so, and in law the authority is as good as the power. And it was the Emancipation Proclamation that provided the impetus for many slaves in territory not under federal control to run away. Perhaps more significantly, those runaways could not have remained "self-emancipated" for very long without the legal freedom conferred by the Proclamation. "Without the Proclamation, even a Confederacy in defeat would have retained legal title to its slaves, and there is little in the oppressive patterns of coercion Southerners employed before the Civil War or afterward in Reconstruction to suggest that they would not have been willing to reclaim as many of their self-emancipated runaways as they could, and if the record of the federal courts in the post-Civil War decades is any proof, the courts would probably have helped them."

The Emancipation Proclamation may lack the rhetorical elegance of the Gettysburg Address or the Second Inaugural, but Guelzo demonstrates that the Proclamation is the most epochal of Lincoln's public pronouncements. This book is the definitive treatment of emancipation; Allen Guelzo deserves our gratitude for returning this document to its place of honor in the history of the Republic. **NR**

An American Original



The Norman Podhoretz Reader: A Selection of His Writings from the 1950s through the 1990s, edited by Thomas L. Jeffers (Free Press, 496 pp., $35)

CHARLES R. KESLER

In the old days, traditionalists and libertarians supposedly divided the American Right between them. Then along came the neoconservatives. Not only did the neocons assert that something new could be conservative, but they implied that the new species was an advance over the old. For a movement that had never held Darwin in high esteem, American conservatism suddenly seemed poised to evolve.

It was political art, not natural selection, however, that produced the vigorous hybrid of Reaganite conservatism. Rather than supplanting everyone else, the neocons contributed their distinctive, and manifold, virtues to the blend. And among the chief contributors was Norman Podhoretz, who in nine books and in his 35 years as editor of *Commentary* powerfully shaped the neoconservative "tendency," as he prefers to call it.

In this excellent new collection of

Mr. Kesler, a professor of government at Claremont McKenna College, is editor of the *Claremont Review of Books*.

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Sailing May 12–19 on Radisson Seven Sea Cruises' MS *Navigator*

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This is a *unique* opportunity to meet preeminent conservatives and policy-makers: "Definites" for this voyage are former Education Secretary and celebrated author **William Bennett,** former Central Intelligence Agency director **James Woolsey**, and *NR* editorial heavyweights **Rich Lowry**, **John O'Sullivan**, and **Jay Nordlinger**.

And now we are *very* happy to announce that *NR* founder and Editor-at-large **William F. Buckley Jr.**, as well as **Ramesh Ponnuru**—*NR*'s intelligent, opinionated, and provacative Senior Editor—will be joining us (we're still awaiting replies from other speakers who we've invited) for seven luxurious days of political shop-talk, conservative revelry, and world-class cruising.

Make that *top*-of-the-world-class cruising. For those who demand the very best, the *Navigator* is custom-made for you. But with prices starting at an incredibly *low* $2,999 a person, the ***National Review* 2004 Bermuda Cruise** is "custom-made" for just about anyone! Unsurpassed service, sumptuous cuisine, spacious accommodations, and luxury, luxury, luxury are the hallmarks of this acclaimed ship.

You *can't* do better than the *Navigator*, or Radisson. Says who? Says *Condé Nast Traveler*'s experienced and discriminating readers—they voted Radisson the "World's Best Small-Ship Cruise Line" this year! That's remarkable, *and* a testament to the fact that the ***National Review* 2004 Bermuda Cruise** will be a *superior* experience.

Fine crusing aside (more on that below), meeting top policy-makers and leading conservatives is *the* highlight of *NR*'s voyages, and, as with our past trips, on the ***National Review* 2004 Bermuda Cruise** you'll have great opportunities to spend "quality time"—whether at the six seminars we have planned (each two hours long, and featuring scintillating discussions of current events, plus your participation via lively Q&A!), or at the exclusive three cocktail receptions or two late-night smokers (featuring **H. Upmann**'s truly *superior* cigars and a complimentary cognac) that are in store, or over a gourmet dinner with our editors and speakers (our goal is to schedule you to dine intimately with our sailing dignitaries on two nights).

This will be *NR*'s second trip to **Bermuda**, and we're happy to be returning to this beautiful island. It never gets old: Sauntering through these charming cities of **Hamilton** and **St. George** (still steeped, like the customary afternoon tea, in the traditions of British colonial life) during the day, enjoying the nightlife, relaxing on the rose-blushed sands of Bermuda's gorgeous beaches—all of this and much more (like the numerous excellent excursions Radisson will provide) awaits you. Oh yes: The *Navigator* will *also* make a lengthy visit to **Norfolk**, from which fascinating tours to Colonial Williamsburg, Jamestown, Yorktown, and other historic Virginia landmarks are available.

Fascinating too will be your sumptuous cabin—all of the *Navigator*'s staterooms provide an ocean view, nearly 90 percent feature private balconies, and none is smaller than 301 sq. ft. (at 1,173 sq. ft., the Master Suites are simply huge!). All staterooms feature European king-size beds (convertible to twins), separate sitting areas, marble baths with tub and separate shower, large walk-in closets with safe, terry robes, hair dryers, refrigerators (stocked with soft drinks), TV/VCR, in-suite bar set-up, and so much more. Oh yes: The Master, Penthouse, and Navigator suites offer Butler Service, and there are even 10 suites that can be interconnected (that's *great* for families!).

As wonderful as the cabins is Radisson's renowned and pampering "Above and Beyond" service, which takes care of every nuance or housekeeping chore so you can spend your time in more pleasurable pursuits. And for those staying in selected staterooms, your butler will unpack

BEAUTIFUL BERMUDA! PHENOMENAL NORFOLK! WHAT A WEEK!

DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENT
Wed./May 12	New York City		5:00PM	
Thur./May 13	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars evening cocktail reception
Fri../May 14	Hamilton	8:00 AM		afternoon seminar late-night smoker
Sat./May 15	Hamilton	Overnight		afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Sun./May 16	St. George	7:00AM	4:00PM	
Mon./May 17	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night smoker
Tues./May 18	Norfolk	7:00AM	5:00PM	evening cocktail reception
Wed./May 19	New York City	8:00AM		

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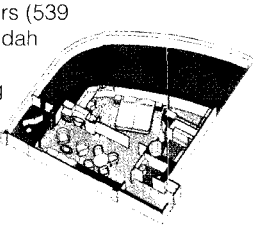
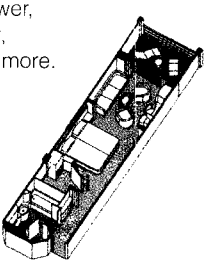
Superior service, gourmet cuisine, elegant accommodations, and great entertainment await you on the beautiful *Navigator*. Prices are per-person, based on double occupancy, and include port fees, taxes, gratuities, transfers (for those booking airfare through Radisson), all meals, entertainment, and admittance to and participation in all *National Review* functions. Complimentary selected wine is served with dinner, and all soft drinks, hot beverages, mineral waters and juices are served on a complimentary basis. At the start of the cruise, each cabin's in-room bar set-up is stocked with complimentary premium liquor. Rates for third person in cabin: 50 percent of double occupancy rate. No fourth passenger. Air travel to/from NYC available through Radisson.

GRAND SUITE Magnificent luxury quarters (539 sq. ft.) feature additional large private verandah (200 sq. ft.), king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), whirlpool bath/shower, floor-to-ceiling windows, dressing room, large sitting area, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, butler service, walk-in closets, and much more.



Category GS
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 8,399 P/P

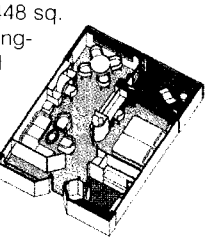
BALCONY SUITES Spacious room (301 sq. ft.) features private verandah (55 sq. ft.), king-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, dressing room, large sitting area, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows, and much more. "Penthouse" level has Butler Service.



Category B "Penthouse"
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,799 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 7,499

Category D (no butler service)
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,399 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 5,499

NAVIGATOR SUITE Grand stateroom (448 sq. ft.) features private verandah (47 sq. ft.), king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), whirlpool bath/shower, large sitting area, dressing room, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, butler service, walk-in closet, floor-to-ceiling windows.



Category NS
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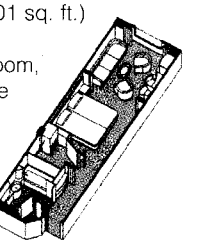

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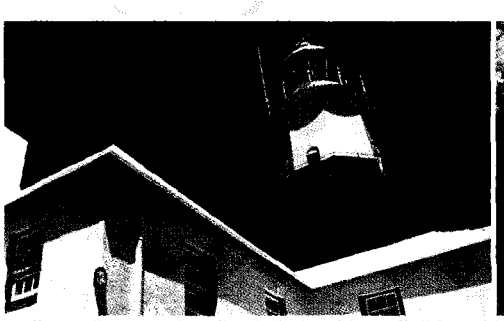

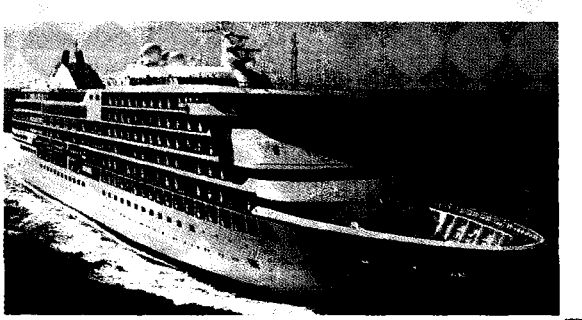

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Mail to: National Review Cruise, The Cruise Authority, 1307 Powers Ferry Rd., Marietta, GA 30067-5409 or Fax to 770-916-1425

Please fill out application completely and mail with deposit check or fax with credit-card information. One application per cabin. If you want more than one cabin, make copies of this application. For questions call The Cruise Authority at 800-707-1634.

Personal

Name #1 (full legal + informal name) Birthdate Shirt size (M/L/XL)

Name #2 (full legal + informal name) Birthdate Shirt size (M/L/XL)

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Street Mailing Address

( )

City State ZIP

Daytime Phone

Special Information (medical conditions, celebrating anniversary, etc.)

email address

Payment

A deposit of $1,000 per cabin is due with this application. If paid by credit card, balance will be charged to *same* card on 2/12/04 unless otherwise directed. If application is received after 2/12/04, the full amount of cruise will be charged. Cabins and categories are available on a first come, first served basis.

☐ My deposit of $1,000 per stateroom is included.
(Make checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

☐ Charge to: AmEx ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover

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PRIOR *to February 12, 200*	*$750 per person*
AFTER *August 8, 2003*	*100% of cruise/package*

Cruise

(All rates are per person, double occupancy, and include all port charges and taxes, all gratuities, meals, entertainment, and *National Review* activities. Cruise-only rates include all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal items not included.)

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First cabin category choice:_____ Second cabin category choice:_____

Bedding: Beds made up as ☐ 2 Twins ☐ King/Queen

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☐ We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to and from New York City.
☐ Include air with our package from _____ (see list below).
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If No, indicate citizenship: _____
DINING: I wish to dine with _____

DINNER: ☐ 8:15PM ☐ 6:15PM (conflicts with dining with speakers/events)

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AR	Little Rock	539	2,200
AZ	Phoenix	779	2,600
	Tucson	779	2,600
CA	Los Angeles	779	2,600
	Palm Springs	779	2,600
	Sacramento	779	2,600
	San Diego	779	2,600
	San Francisco	779	2,600
CO	Denver	779	2,600
CT	Hartford	359	800
DC	Washington	359	800
FL	Ft. Lauderdale	429	1,600
	Ft. Myers	429	1,600
	Jacksonville	429	1,600
	Miami	429	1,600
	Orlando	429	1,600
FL	Tampa	429	1,600
	Palm Beach	429	1,600
GA	Atlanta	429	1,600
	Savannah	429	1,600
HI	Honolulu	799	1,600
ID	Boise	799	2,600
IL	Chicago	459	1,600
IN	Indianapolis	459	1,600
IA	Cedar Rapids	459	1,600
	Des Moines	459	1,600
KS	Wichita	539	2,200
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LA	New Orleans	539	2,200
	Shreveport	539	2,200
ME	Portland	359	800
MD	Baltimore	359	800
MA	Boston	359	800
MI	Detroit	459	1,600
	Grand Rapids	459	1,600
MN	Mnpls/St. Paul	459	1,600
MS	Jackson	539	2,200
MO	Kansas City	539	2,200
	St. Louis	459	1,600
MT	Great Falls	799	2,600
NE	Omaha	459	1,600
NV	Las Vegas	799	2,600
	Reno	799	2,600
NM	Albuquerque	799	2,600
NY	Albany	359	800
	Buffalo	359	800
	Rochester	359	800
	Syracuse	359	800
NC	Charlotte	429	1,600
	Greensboro	429	1,600
NC	Raleigh/Durham	429	1,600
ND	Fargo	799	2,600
OK	Oklahoma City	539	2,200
	Tulsa	539	2,200
OH	Cincinnati	459	1,600
	Cleveland	459	1,600
	Columbus	459	1,600
OR	Portland	799	2,600
PA	Philadelphia	359	800
	Pittsburgh	359	800
RI	Providence	359	800
SC	Charleston	429	1,600
TX	Austin	539	2,200
	Dallas/Ft. Worth	539	2,200
	El Paso	539	2,200
	Houston	539	2,200
	San Antonio	539	2,200
TN	Knoxville	539	2,200
	Memphis	539	2,200
	Nashville	539	2,200
UT	Salt Lake City	779	2,600
VA	Norfolk	359	800
	Richmond	359	800
WA	Seattle	799	2,600
WI	Milwaukee	459	1,600

CANADA ($USD)

Calgary	799	2,600
Edmonton	799	2,600
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his writings, Podhoretz, who wonders whether he's been around long enough to be called a "paleoneoconservative," reminds us of the distance that he, and we, have come. Elegantly edited and introduced by Thomas L. Jeffers, who teaches American and English literature at Marquette, *The Norman Podhoretz Reader* spans five decades of his writings and exhibits his great gifts as a literary stylist and political controversialist. Not incidentally, it illuminates his personal odyssey from liberal to radical to neoconservative to conservative.

Through all his wanderings, Podhoretz was an anti-Communist. This distinguishes him from those neocons who went through a youthful flirtation with Communism, often of the Trotskyite variety. He attributes his immunity to the good luck of being born too late (1930) to have entertained illusions about the USSR, and to the profound example of his mentor at Columbia, Lionel Trilling, who defended liberalism against totalitarianism. The rejection of totalitarianism would be another constant in Podhoretz's career, even when he turned toward radicalism at the end of the 1950s.

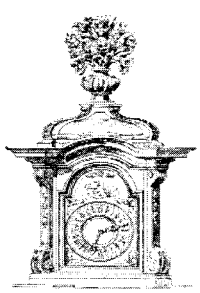
Of this radicalism Jeffers provides only scattered examples. Other than some hindsight glimpses (from *Breaking Ranks*, Podhoretz's 1979 "political memoir"), the only radicalism on display here is a few discouraging words about America: in the famous 1963 article "My Negro Problem—and Ours" and in essays on Saul Bellow's novels and *Huckleberry Finn*.

Perhaps that's for the best, inasmuch as his radicalism involved taking a lot of writers seriously whom it would be hard for anyone, including Podhoretz, to take seriously today—e.g., Paul Goodman and Norman O. Brown. From the selections included here, Podhoretz's radicalism was as much literary-intellectual as political, anyway, springing from what he calls "the religion of art" and thus sparing him the sins of those who truly longed to make a religion of politics.

Besides, how bad could the country be that allowed someone as bright and hard-working as he to rise? That was the theme of *Making It*, his 1967 account of his climb up the greasy pole of New York intellectual life. The opening sentence of the first chapter said it all: "One of the longest journeys in the world is the journey from Brooklyn to Manhattan." In Manhattan he rubbed shoulders with Norman Mailer, Lillian Hellman, and other horribles, and as much as he (and his wife, Midge Decter) enjoyed the show, Podhoretz seems to have regarded it with a very cool eye. His literary standards were high, and, with rare exceptions, he didn't think his friends' books were as good as they should be, which is to say, as good as his friends thought they were. Thus, in the very process of making it, Podhoretz began to break ranks.

His rethinking led him to neoconservatism. Indeed, he became one of the two most influential neocons of all. The other, ten years his senior, was Irving Kristol. Each edited a magazine (in Kristol's case, *The Public Interest*, founded in 1965) that would begin to publish a set of writers and academics who would define the neoconservative tendency.

Kristol and Podhoretz had both studied with Trilling, but Podhoretz's other mentor was the literary scholar F. R. Leavis, with whom he spent three years of graduate study at Cambridge. By contrast, Kristol learned much from Sidney Hook, Leo Strauss, and Strauss's student Martin Diamond. Kristol planted his journal firmly in the social sciences, albeit as chastened by pragmatism and Straussianism. This was social science liberated from dogmatic progressivism and keenly aware of the limitations of reason in politics. Although *Commentary* would publish many of the same circle of social scientists, its focus was different: more literary, religious, and political (including geopolitical), in keeping with Podhoretz's interests and those of the magazine's publisher, the American Jewish Committee.



Neocons of all sorts, but especially those who had had a brush with radicalism, give the impression of being once burned, twice shy. Having dabbled with abstract theory of the utopian sort, they recoiled into various kinds of anti-Romantic empiricism. In his most distinctive writings, Podhoretz drew his data not from the social sciences but from his own life. He specialized in what he sometimes called the "auto-case history," testing a theory or problem against his own experience, whether growing up in Brooklyn or reading *Lolita*. This remarkable moral realism, on display in *Making It* and *Breaking Ranks*, thus colored his literary criticism as well.

In fact, one of this book's delights is its inclusion of many examples of Podhoretz's literary analysis—of Bellow, Simone de Beauvoir, and Hannah Arendt, among others. His criticisms are pungent, sensible, and shrewd, even as Trilling's were, but Podhoretz draws from deeper moral wells. Jeffers is right to call "exceptionally prescient" the 1958 essay "The Know-Nothing Bohemians," which demonstrated the incipient nihilism of Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, and the larger cultural movement that Norman Mailer had hailed as a "revolution backward toward being." Still, it's a stretch to claim, as Jeffers does, that "Podhoretz has consistently defended a belief in the primacy of natural law." Like most neoconservatives, Podhoretz is wary of such rational ultimates, preferring to rest the case for democracy on its effects rather than its truth.

To be sure, he believes that there is an objective difference between good and evil, and to that extent he is at least an implicit natural-law thinker. But the principles he favors are either commonsensical or drawn from great literature or theology. Not for nothing is his latest book *The Prophets*.

Podhoretz's achievements as an editor are immense and not easily captured in an anthology, though Jeffers includes "In Defense of Editing," a gem that Podhoretz wrote for *Harper's* in 1965. Podhoretz turned Commentary into an indispensable journal, a crucible in which Reaganite arguments, especially on foreign policy, were annealed and honed. In its pages in 1996 he pronounced a "eulogy" for neoconservatism, because its goals—resistance to Communism and the counterculture—had either been accomplished or been adopted by mainstream conservatism. Yet his own "love affair with America," to use his disarming phrase, continued. Any American who reads *The Norman Podhoretz Reader* will not let that love go unrequited. **NR**

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Friends in Need?

Allies: The U.S., Britain, Europe, and the War in Iraq, by William Shawcross (PublicAffairs, 272 pp., $20)

JEFFREY GEDMIN

In late 1974, Jacques Chirac, then prime minister of France, traveled to Baghdad to meet Iraqi vice president Saddam Hussein. The two men discussed Iraq's purchase of French nuclear reactors. The next year, Saddam traveled to Paris; Chirac gave his visitor a personal tour of a French nuclear plant, and declared that "Iraq is in the process of beginning a coherent nuclear program and France wants to associate herself with that effort." Coherent it was: Saddam subsequently told an Iraqi magazine that working with France was crucial "toward production of the Arab atomic bomb."

The French sold Iraq two nuclear reactors and agreed to train 600 Iraqi nuclear technicians and scientists. Paris also agreed to sell Iraq $1.5 billion worth of weapons, including Mirage F1 fighters, surface-to-air missiles, and advanced electronics and air-defense systems. Chirac called Saddam "a personal friend and a great statesman"; Saddam began selling France Iraqi oil on favorable terms; and thus the stage was set for a great Security Council showdown a quarter-century later.

Mr. Gedmin is director of the Aspen Institute Berlin.

Of course, the French were not the only ones who did business with Saddam Hussein. The U.S. tried its hand at geostrategic balancing by supporting Iraq against Iran's mullahs in the 1980s. But France was determined to stick with Saddam until the bitter end—all the while, oddly enough, invoking moral arguments in defense of its policy. When foreign minister Dominique de Villepin was grandstanding at the Security Council last year, he insisted that the world was choosing between France's preference for peaceful disarmament and America's desire for disarmament by force. Amazingly, the gallery did not burst out in laughter.

In *Allies*, William Shawcross does not pull punches. In riveting detail, he tells the story of French vanity, greed, and collusion with one of the most barbaric tyrants of the last half-century. In short, this book is a gem. The aim of Shawcross, this ex-lefty turned neocon, is to tell the story of the alliance that George W. Bush and Tony Blair forged to end Saddam's rule, and of the efforts of the nations that tried to stop them. The Bush administration, whose ability to explain and persuade often leaves something to be desired, should make the Shawcross book required reading for Republican debaters who face the slander of Democrats on Iraq; Shawcross often does Bush better than Bush himself. Our embassies should arm diplomats with this book to buck up U.S. public diplomacy.

Shawcross heaps praise on his fellow Brit Tony Blair, and rightfully so: Blair stood up to France, Germany, a wobbly public, the hostile media, and the worst instincts of his own party. "What amazes me," Shawcross quotes Blair as saying, "is how many people are happy for Saddam to stay." On Iraq, the prime minister was having his Thatcher moment. Blair never hesitated. The BBC and members of the Labour party have pretty much concluded that Blair (and Bush) lied about Saddam's weapons of mass destruction. Rubbish, says Shawcross. First of all, Britain and America were not alone in believing that Saddam possessed proscribed weapons. In Resolution 1441, in November 2002, all 15 members of the Security Council agreed that Saddam had failed to account for illegal weapons and insisted that he disarm. Hans Blix agreed that Saddam had not accepted the necessary disarmament. The entire Arab world never had a doubt.

Of course, it is important to find out what happened to those stockpiles. But Shawcross is right to point out something the media tend to overlook: exactly what it is we *have* found in Iraq. He quotes former weapons inspector Rolf Ekeus, who says a "combination of researchers, engineers, know-how, precursors, batch production techniques is what constituted Iraq's chemical threat—its chemical weapons." Shawcross also describes the organized looting carried out by the regime in its dying days, when evidence was destroyed, material dispersed, and hard drives wiped out. But strong evidence still points to the conclusion that, long after the inspectors left in 1998, the Iraqis were pursuing (in

A HILL IN MASSACHUSETTS

The slope down which, come snow, beginners ski,
October hikers climb now with a will,
Trudging up trails to see what they can see
From crests that look out down the Great Blue Hill.
The work, against brown swathes of meadow grass,
Concludes when devotees at last attain
A top where white stones tower in a mass,
And, turtle-turned, a peeling dory's lain
Who knows how many years. How very strange!
A lighthouse and a stranded little boat,
Above the sea six hundred feet and change,
Where far peaks are the only things that float.
It is almost enough (which means it's not)
To make us think we stand on Ararat.

—LEN KRISAK

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Shawcross's words) "an organized strategy of deception." In fact, Saddam was still cheating even after Blix and the U.N. inspectors were readmitted in 2002.

What else do we know? David Kay, former head of the Iraqi Survey Group, the team tasked to hunt for WMD in Iraq, discovered "illicit procurement networks" and a "clandestine network of laboratories and facilities within the security service apparatus." If September 11 showed a failure of intelligence and a failure of imagination, says Shawcross, just try to picture the damage 140 liters of VX could do, in the hands of a psychopath like Saddam Hussein. The death toll could reach one million.

It's quite clear that Saddam Hussein once possessed weapons of mass destruction: He used them against Iran and against his own people. He never stopped deceiving about them, and never lost enthusiasm for them. Saddam praised the killers of 9/11; one Iraqi government paper called the attacks "God's Punishment." Returning the favor, al-Qaeda now praises the work of loyalists to Iraq's former regime: Those who help the Americans and their allies are, according to a bin Laden communiqué, "heretics" and "criminals," "slaves" of "the crusaders" and accomplices of "the Jews." No, Bush and Blair need not look back.

Shawcross's book is no whitewash, though. He thinks that the Pentagon planned better for war than for peace; that it was a mistake to disband the Iraqi army; that Washington turf battles have undermined Iraq's reconstruction; that information policy—the battle to win Iraqi hearts and minds—has been woefully lacking. No argument here. But Shawcross is a member of what is today a rare species: European journalists who really like America and truly want the United States to succeed. It is virtually impossible to find European pundits who like the U.S. president and think the "axis of evil" speech was right on the money. Shawcross was, in former years, one of the severest critics (from the left) of U.S. Cold War policy. But whatever he once was, he is surely on our side now.

Shawcross reserves most of his bewilderment and contempt for those opponents of the Iraq war who claim to speak for human rights. Tens of thousands of Iraqis were imprisoned, and 300,000 had been slaughtered since 1991—yet half the West last year was still temporizing, apologizing, and seeking to blame America first. Shawcross reports that former New York police chief Bernard Kerik, during his postwar stint in Iraq, reviewed countless videotapes of Saddam's cruelty—and said the tapes showed Iraqis being killed by grenades "tied to the neck or stuffed in the shirt." Saddam himself once sat and watched as a victim was eaten alive by Dobermans; cameras rolling, the gruesome scene was recorded for posterity.

Gore Vidal asked back then: "Don't you think that's their problem? That's not your problem, and that's not my problem. There are many bad regimes on earth . . . [and] I would put the Bush regime as one of them." In Egypt last year there was a hit pop song about Iraq: "Better Saddam's Hell than America's Paradise." Good to know where folks are. **NR**

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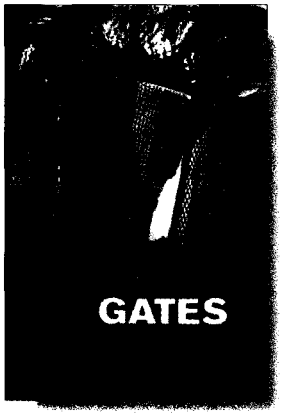
Tales of the Flood



Unguarded Gates: A History of America's Immigration Crisis, by Otis L. Graham Jr. (Rowman & Littlefield, 264 pp., $26.95)

JAMES R. EDWARDS JR.

RADICALS loose in America. Unprecedented numbers of immigrants arriving, from countries less and less like those that founded the United States. A flooded labor market, with wages dropping for low-income Americans. Industrialists clamoring for more cheap foreign labor. Does all this sound familiar? It could be a description of today's reality, in which terrorists menace our country; masses of Third World immigrants continue to swamp our shores, displacing American workers in many job sectors; and industrialists cheerlead for the importation of even more foreign workers. In *Unguarded Gates*, however, historian Otis L. Graham Jr. shows that this would have been equally accurate as a description of another time of large-scale immigration: the period spanning the 1880s to the 1920s.

Graham, professor emeritus of history at the University of California, Santa Barbara, divides the history of American immigration policy and practice into three eras. First, states and, increasingly, Congress dealt piecemeal with who arrived, and decided who could stay, in the absence of an overriding national policy. Second, the Great Wave of the late 1800s and early 1900s culminated in adoption of a comprehensive policy designed to regulate the volume and character of the immigrant flow. Third, rising liberalism loosed a Second Great Wave, which continues—and increases—today.

The national-origins quota system was an exercise of republican self-government, reflecting an honest assessment of mass immigration's costs and benefits.

Graham shows that Americans, from the beginning of the republic, have been ambivalent toward immigration. Colonies and, later, states disqualified foreign paupers and criminals. Thomas Jefferson counseled that the "inconveniences" associated with immigrants be weighed against the benefits they would bring. Alexander Hamilton agreed with Jefferson, saying immigrants' "heterogeneous compound" would "change and corrupt the national spirit." Graham notes that the Founders, in the interest of preserving the integrity of the republic they had struggled to create, opted against an immigration policy that would be constantly destabilizing: They expected mostly native-born increase, with the immigrants who did arrive becoming Americans in outlook and attachment.

The 19th century saw the beginnings of a flow of immigrants increasingly unlike the Americans already here. Western European nations that sent settlers to America "in the 17th to 19th centuries had been early and advanced incubators of constitutional democracy, religious pluralism (within a Christian framework), and unprecedented progress in science, technology, and economic development. By contrast, Great Wave arrivals were from nations or regions within the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires that by Western standards were profoundly backward."

Thus came restriction. Despite being a product of the Progressive Era, which in many ways broke with the Founding period, the new policy of restriction was profoundly conservative. The national-origins quota system was an exercise of republican self-government, reflecting a fair-minded, honest assessment of mass immigration's costs and benefits. The Great Wave had fed social upheaval, in the form of surplus labor, packed cities, unsanitary conditions, and cholera; it had also stretched social services. Alien anarchists could even pose a threat to ordered liberty—a fact brought home to Americans when President McKinley was assassinated by an immigrant. Mass immigration's most serious effect, however, was felt in the pocketbook—by, among others, blacks, whose interests in this regard were defended by Booker T. Washington. Led by mainstream restrictionists such as Henry Cabot Lodge, Theodore Roosevelt, and Samuel Gompers, Americans coalesced behind a system for controlling and reducing immigration, which would, in Lodge's words, "treat all races alike on the basis of their actual proportion of the existing population."

Graham performs a valuable service in refuting modern-day charges that racist motivations and eugenicist theories underlay the Progressives' moves to restrict immigration. Over the last half-century, well-meaning revisionist historians—seeking to "indict racism . . . down the full sweep and side eddies of the American past"—aimed modern values at "ripe targets among the immigra-

Mr. Edwards is an adjunct fellow with the Hudson Institute, and coauthor of *The Congressional Politics of Immigration Reform*.

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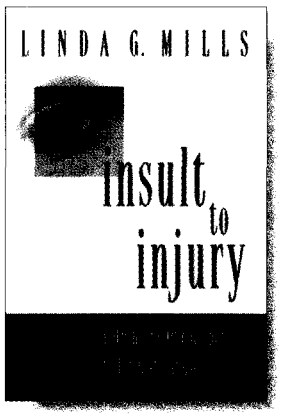
tion restrictionists"; as a result, textbooks have presented an unbalanced perspective on early immigration reform. To be sure, bigoted elements fringed the movement, but mainstream restrictionists repudiated these extremists. As Graham points out, America in the 1920s possessed "a strong dose of what we call American Ideals—essential human equality, fairness to all, social tolerance." Most Americans—including the elites—believed deeply in these virtues and principles; this fueled the Americanization movement that Graham discusses and John J. Miller's *The Unmaking of Americans* (1998) covers in depth.

The 40 years following restriction vastly aided assimilation and helped solve economic, social, and political problems arising from Great Wave immigration. Today, America faces similar problems as a result of the post-1965 Second Great Wave—but, as Graham demonstrates, political correctness has undermined our national self-confidence and, in turn, stifled discussion of what to do about immigration. Today's cosmopolitan elites were steeped in the immigration-reform-equals-xenophobia version of history; to them, even post-9/11, open immigration remains a "symbol." To condemn any criticism of it is "a shorthand way of demonstrating commitment to anti-racism and internationalism," and of distinguishing the educated classes from the lower orders, who are well known to harbor a "bigoted preference for cultural homogeneity."

Unguarded Gates is especially enlightening in its analysis of the vast cultural rift between the elites, who benefit economically from cheap immigrant labor, and average Americans, who bear the costs and consequences of the present mass immigration. The book assembles hard facts detailing how the Second Great Wave causes economic disparities, hurts the poorest Americans, risks permanently splintering our society, and presents new national-security threats. In short, Graham dispels myths that distort our understanding of one of today's most pressing issues. He seeks to disarm immigration enthusiasts of the vicious epithets with which they close down honest, open debate. This book sets the stage for fair discussion, as America again approaches the bursting point from uncontrolled immigration. **NR**

Sparing the Abusers



Insult to Injury: Rethinking Our Response to Intimate Abuse, by Linda G. Mills (Princeton, 192 pp., $19.95)

C. DOUGLAS KERN

TRUE story, from *Insult to Injury*: A man beats and rapes his wife; later, he holds a loaded gun to her head in front of her small children. His guilt is indisputable. Total punishment: six months of incarceration, followed by a term of probation. Now, complete the following statement. "The six months of incarceration was a travesty because . . ." (a) "the sentence was absurdly short; serious crimes require serious punishment" or (b) "the sentence was absurdly long; the victim wanted counseling for the offender, not punishment, so incarceration was unduly harsh."

Did you choose (a)? Linda Mills, a professor of social work at New York University, says (b). Her book, *Insult to Injury*, rejects the mandatory-arrest-and-prosecution policies for domestic violence that now apply in nearly every jurisdiction in the United States. Under the regime that Mills proposes, men who torment their spouses and domestic partners can elude real punishment almost indefinitely, as victims will have the power to help them avoid arrest and prosecution.

Mr. Kern is a lawyer and writer residing in Columbus, Ohio. From 2001 to 2003, he was the special prosecutor for violence against women in Clark County, Ohio.

Under the status quo, Mills complains, it is prosecutors, not victims, who make the decisions in the criminal-justice system. Policies that are tilted toward prosecution fail to acknowledge that women themselves perpetuate domestic violence by abusing children; and, of course, the system is biased against the poor, the black, and the disenfranchised. This is vintage left-wing criminology, with the flavor notes unique to the memorable 1967 harvest: Crime is never a choice, society is to blame, and punishment is merely avoiding the problem.

In lieu of punishment, Mills advocates Intimate Abuse Circles. May I propose that no aspect of crime has ever been or will ever be solved by the use of anything involving the words "Intimate" and "Circles?" Forget jail; now you can be "punished" with the punishment no criminal dreads: hours of harmless blather. Mills wants experts to meet with abusers, abusees, and their family and friends to discuss abuse problems. And whereas mandatory prosecution is "playing God," "human transformation should be the heart and soul of the Intimate Abuse Circle." Human transformation shall be achieved through the healing benediction of words, words, words.

Will ill-socialized men feel anything but contempt toward covens of experts yammering about "communication"? Such efforts will indeed earn the contempt of the more inarticulate abusers, most of whom are no strangers to the lectures of well-meaning professionals with degrees in social work. And the crafty, manipulative abusers will learn from these Intimate Circles a new lexicon of buzzwords and catchphrases with which to dazzle judges and probation officers at future sentencing hearings.

Mills is correct on one point: Current policies ignore the wishes of most domestic-violence victims. For this, I believe, we should be thankful. You can beat these victims senseless; you can scar them for life; you can torture them for days and reduce their children to whimpering nothings, and still the stories won't change: "I can't live without a

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man in my life"; "I need his paycheck because I just can't work a job"; "I know he'll change with some counseling"; "It's all my fault." To give these pathetic delusions any credence "empowers" no one. When Mills airily characterizes the lies and excuses of domestic violence as "narratives," she condescends to abusers and abusees more completely than criminal laws ever could.

Criminal laws assign victims and abusers responsibility for their actions and for the truth and falsehood of their words. To Mills, words—and, for that matter, criminal laws—are just tools with which to promote or deny psychological adjustment. At no time does Mills reflect any awareness that spousal abusers should be punished *because they are spousal abusers*. And yet she advocates mandatory jail (yes, *mandatory*, thus contradicting the whole point of the book) for men who act violently after enduring her precious Intimate Abuse Circles. To Mills, ignoring the wisdom of the experts seems to be a far more serious crime than attacking others.

Words often substitute for reality in *Insult to Injury*. For example, Mills argues that women are just as abusive in relationships as men are. How? Mills expands the definition of "intimate abuse" to encompass physical *and* emotional abuse. And since every wife-beater can grumble some complaint about emotional abuse, then—presto!—women are as abusive as men. To Mills, words are violence, and words can dispel violence. Harry Potter's magic incantations should be so effective.

No left-leaning manifesto on crime could be complete without a little irresponsible pop-psychologizing about the motives of the other side, and Mills obliges. Mainstream feminists oppose her because, owing to "counter-transference," they impose their own hatred of men and need for control onto the victims whom they are supposedly trying to help. It's a pity that Mills never shines her low-wattage light onto herself: By book's end, she confides to us that an ex-boyfriend abused, raped, and stalked her for some time. But it's okay, because "his childhood was marred by suffering" and they "reinforced each other's insecurities and dependence." Her great breakthrough in therapy came when she accepted responsibility for her culpability in being, well, abused, raped, and stalked. For the reality-colored wedge: What do a city in Sweden and Patty Hearst have in common? Don't worry if you don't know. Linda Mills doesn't, either.

For all its pretensions to cutting-edge liberalism, *Insult to Injury* is surprisingly old-fashioned. It sanitizes every hoary cliché about domestic violence that ever dripped from the lips of the sleaziest defense lawyer. It makes old poisons palatable to a generation of feminists that can't say no to a degradation that calls itself "empowerment." And the right of women to degrade themselves in the manner of their choosing is a right that every wife-beater will cheerfully defend.

Oh, and as for the monster who served six months? His sentence was so short because the victim found a prosecutor who agreed with Linda Mills. His probation was a failure. He never stopped blaming the victim for his crimes.

Such is the world Linda Mills apparently wants for you and your daughters. Reject it. **NR**

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■ SHELF LIFE ■

Culture Heroes

MICHAEL POTEMRA

At mid-century, campuses slumbered acquiescently in the culture of entrenched post-New Deal statism. But a man named Frank Chodorov knew that if you were going to change the culture, you had to do it through the kids; accordingly, in 1953, he founded an organization "to promote among college students, specifically, and the public, generally, an understanding of, and appreciation for, the Constitution of the United States of America, laissez-faire (free market) economics, and the doctrine of individualism." The inspiring story of his organization, and its immense influence on America's progress over the succeeding five decades, is told in historian Lee Edwards's *Educating for Liberty: The First Half-Century of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute* (Regnery, 343 pp., $27.95).

What sets this fine book apart from the typical work of institutional history is that Edwards stresses the special nature of ISI's product—which is to say, ideas. The passion felt by ISI's founders, backers, and officials for passing on the Great Tradition—the best thought of the Western world—is infectious throughout these pages. "A teacher," Chodorov said, "is a conductor of electricity"; this book demonstrates that ISI has lived up to its high calling, charging up many megawatts' worth of young conservatives.

■ Sean Hannity has one of the most

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likable personas in broadcasting. At the heart of his appeal is the unassuming sincerity in his devotion to some key values, and this emotional candor is on winsome display in his new book, *Deliver Us from Evil: Defeating Terrorism, Despotism, and Liberalism* (ReganBooks, 338 pp., $26.95). Today's liberals, he writes, are "far less suspicious than they should be of totalitarian regimes"; their behavior on national security sometimes proves the accuracy of the old joke that a liberal is a guy who won't take his own side in an argument. Hannity, in contrast, is a plainspoken and unabashed defender of our war for American values against global forces of terror and oppression. His concern in this book is chiefly with today's struggle against the Islamofascists, but in an epilogue he expands his discussion to such hot spots as Red China and North Korea; the need for U.S. resolve against evil will not vanish when the current terror war has been won.

■ Another welcome voice in broadcasting is ABC's surprising libertarian, John Stossel. In *Give Me a Break: How I Exposed Hucksters, Cheats, and Scam Artists and Became the Scourge of the Liberal Media* (HarperCollins, 294 pp., $24.95), Stossel describes his progress from chasing small-time crooks to exposing major-league political peddlers of special-interest hoaxery. This memoir is chockablock with great stories. Here's one example, from his years as a consumer reporter:

> I had heard some doctors were so greedy they'd perform abortions on women who weren't pregnant. In the era before home pregnancy tests, crooked doctors could take advantage of women whose periods were late. They would simply test the women's urine, tell them they were pregnant, and pretend to give them abortions. . . . I sent two female researchers to six abortion doctors with samples of *my* urine. Two of the six clinics told the women they were pregnant and tried to abort them. They only escaped by jumping off the tables and shouting, "No! I've changed my mind!" We got the conversations on tape and broadcast them. Both doctors closed their clinics and disappeared.

The book will delight all believers in free minds and free markets, as Stossel gives copious instances of the harm done by excessive government regulation and politically correct censorship.

■ In *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (North Carolina, 238 pp., $18.95), Vanderbilt history professor Kathleen Flake tells a little-known yet very important story about the development of American pluralism. In 1903, the Utah legislature elected Reed Smoot, one of the Apostles (chief administrators) of the Mormon Church, to the U.S. Senate. This triggered a nationwide protest, as members of other religious denominations petitioned the Senate not to recognize Smoot's election. Flake writes: "In briefs filed with the Senate, the protesters took care to stipulate, 'We accuse [Smoot] of no offense cognizable by law.' Rather, they argued, Smoot's ineligibility for office was based on his participation in a religious cabal that violated the law, corrupted the home, and controlled Utah's government and economy."

The Senate admitted Smoot, but established a special committee to investigate him and his church. The Mormon leaders had publicly accepted the federal law against polygamy; but did they still covertly encourage the institution? More broadly, did the church wield too much power in Utah? Was it genuinely separate from the state? It turned out polygamy was still going on, and a national outcry ensued. A Minnesota newspaper in 1905 ran the headline: "Revelations Doom Mormonism to Extermination / No Matter What Outcome of Trial May Be, System Will Be Suppressed." Being Mormon was widely seen as incompatible with American values.

The Smoot investigation lasted until 1907, when the Senate voted 43-27 not to expel him. The Latter-day Saints adapted, giving more full-throated assent to the anti-polygamy laws; among the general public anti-Mormon animus faded away. Reed Smoot is remembered today chiefly as coauthor of the notorious Smoot-Hawley tariff bill that helped plunge America into the Great Depression; but he also deserves national affection, as the central figure in a key incident in the growth of religious tolerance in the United States.

■ If Ronald Reagan was the "Teflon president," writes Reagan aide Michael Deaver, his wife Nancy was "the Flypaper first lady," dogged by bad press. Deaver's new book, *Nancy: An Intimate Portrait of My Years with Nancy Reagan* (William Morrow, 224 pp., $24.95) is a chivalrous act, a warmhearted rehabilitation of the woman demonized as a "dragon lady" in Sacramento and later in Washington. She was, indeed, capable of toughness. In 1994, recounts Deaver, Oliver North was tied with Chuck Robb in the Virginia Senate race, when a reporter asked Nancy about him. "'North almost ruined my husband,' she answered, and with that, Ollie North sank in the polls, never to recover. I never understood the power of Nancy's words until, in 2002, a former Robb campaign official told me over lunch that as soon as the campaign got word of the former first lady's quote, the entire Robb staff 'did high-fives all the way down to Richmond.'"

Reagan himself comes out looking terrific in this book. In one wonderful scene, daughter Patti is working herself up into a lather against would-be assassin John Hinckley. "You know, Patti," Ronald Reagan says, "when I was lying there in the hospital wondering if I was going to die, I spent a lot of time praying, and I knew I couldn't just pray for myself. I had to pray for John Hinckley, too. If God loves me, then in spite of everything, He must also love John Hinckley." Reagan's one great guy: a True Believer in the profoundest sense. **NR**

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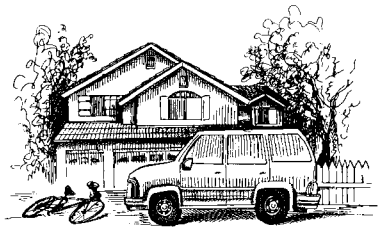
■ THE STRAGGLER ■

War Games



JOHN DERBYSHIRE

Sunday afternoon, the eight-year-old knocking around the house. No one to play with: His pals have relatives over, or are themselves away on family visits. Sister has a play date in the next town, Mom is out shopping. The weather is nice and cold, but the snow is "tired," dirty and icy. He is not in the mood for reading, has exceeded his ration of TV for the week, and is bored with the limited supply of computer games we permit him. "Dad, will you play Stratego with me?"

Dad pulls himself reluctantly away from some online exchanges about the president's morning TV appearance on *Meet the Press*. The Stratego board comes out; a screen is erected across the middle; much careful placement of pieces goes on—the concentration is intense here—then we are ready. The screen is discarded, battle commences.

Stratego, for those who do not know it, is a board game for two. Each player has 40 pieces of various military ranks—sergeants, colonels, and so on—which he deploys on his side of the board. I can see the ranks of my pieces, but my opponent can see only the identical featureless backs of them; and vice versa. (Hence the screen. Seeing your opponent make his starting deployment would give vital clues as to the position of key pieces.) One piece on each side is a flag, which of course the other side must locate and capture. I advance pieces into the enemy's territory, and he into mine. On encountering one of his pieces, I may attack it, and we must both reveal ranks. If his piece's rank is less than that of my attacking piece, his piece is taken . . . and so on. There are clever wrinkles in the game. The cleverest concerns a spy piece, so low-ranked he can be taken by any piece that attacks him; but he alone possesses the power to take a marshal, the highest-ranked piece. Of course, the spy must first locate the marshal, then sneak up on him, or lure him into position, for the "assassination."

The game box and pieces are decorated with pictures of Napoleonic-era soldiers, dressed in shakos, plumes, braid, cloaks, and spurs. This adds charm to the game. I know, of course, that actual wars of Napoleon's time were very grisly affairs—there is a stomach-turning account of Waterloo in John Keegan's *The Face of Battle*. It was all a long time ago, though. Winston Churchill noted, following his experiences in WWI, that "war, which used to be cruel and magnificent, has now become cruel and squalid." Validated by such an authority, nostalgia towards the color and dash of Dragoon, Lancer, and Hussar can be indulged without guilt, I think. Most of these strategy games (I am not sure about Go) were originally spin-offs from the military arts. You can, in fact, graduate from them to full-scale war games. I have an acquaintance whose hobby is the re-fighting of great naval engagements on a large table in his basement. However, he has a great deal more spare time than I have. Stratego will do for me.

The essence of Stratego is, of course, strategy. As an introduction to those aspects of life that involve the weighing of strategies, the game is excellent. I have always thought chess unsatisfactory in this regard, being devoid of the element of chance. Meritocracy is a very fine thing, but not much of the world is meritocratic, and a child may as well get acquainted with the Fickle Finger of Fate early on in life. In any case, I am a duffer at chess, being too lazy-minded and insufficiently competitive. For a while, in my teens, I gave the game some serious attention, working through championship contests that I found in books or newspapers. Time and again, though, I would have the very disconcerting experience of following the logic of the moves quite happily until, right in the middle of what seemed to me like a promising development—"White resigns." Why had he resigned? I had no clue. White had been looking just fine to me.

I left chess for other people to play. I had grasped, in any case, that skill at playing chess correlates with nothing else at all—certainly not with geniality, as is illustrated by the personalities of numerous great chess champions. (Nor even with the ability to design chess-playing computers. Taiwanese genius Feng-hsiung Hsu, co-designer of the "Deep Blue" machine that defeated Garry Kasparov in 1997, confesses wryly in his book *Behind Deep Blue* that he is himself a mediocre chess player, and that Kasparov gave up trying to talk chess with him after a few minutes, "sensing that I was not seeing the game on the same level as he and Deep Blue . . .")

Perhaps someone has written a computer program to play Stratego. If so, he has broken a butterfly on the wheel. Board games of this kind are, and are meant to be, trivial amusements. Many people find them irksome for just that reason. Researching the life of Calvin Coolidge, I came across a rather staged-looking picture of him playing Parcheesi with Grace and the two boys. I asked John Coolidge whether this had been a thing his father took pleasure in. "Good Lord, no!" was the reply.

I part tastes with the 30th president here. I quite like playing Stratego with my son, watching his understanding develop. He began his Stratego career by being much too cautious, shuffling his pieces back and forth ineffectually while I probed his defenses. Now he has switched to a more reckless style of play, hurling his men against my own ranks like the Light Brigade at Balaclava. This is sometimes successful. (Lord Cardigan, let it be remembered, actually made it to the enemy's guns, and committed mayhem among the Russian artillerymen, and lived to tell the tale.) I suppose that with time my boy will find the correct calibration, the point of balance between prudence and aggression. I hope he will then be wiser in some way, some way that he can apply to his life in the world. It is of course possible that he will merely be better at Stratego. **NR**

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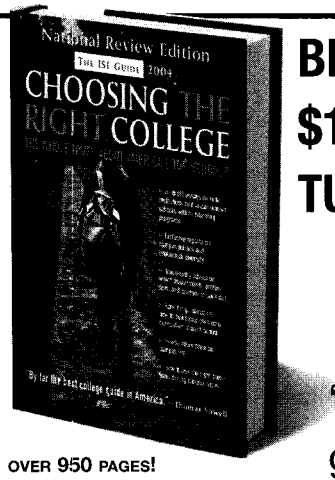

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Enter The Hague

NEW YORK, JANUARY 16

THE "courtesy" exercised by the State of Oklahoma in the matter of Osbaldo Torres has enormous implications. The attorney general called it that—an exercise in courtesy—putting off the execution of the convicted killer at the behest of the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

What happened, to personalize the story, is that Torres killed a man and his wife, and did so, so to speak, live, in the presence of their children. He was apprehended and tried. The first jury did not reach a conclusion, so he was tried again, and this jury sentenced him to death.

It wasn't until three years after the crime that the Government of Mexico found out about Osbaldo. Vicente Fox, the president of Mexico, has heatedly opposed the execution of Mexicans in the United States, and now intervened. He cited a consular treaty the United States signed on to in 1969. The Vienna treaty holds that any foreigner prosecuted in a signatory country should have access to the consular services of his own country. We didn't do this with Osbaldo, and, regularly, we tend to deal loosely with the treaty's provisions.

This isn't just plain Yankee contumacy. There are 122 foreigners on death row, and they come from 31 countries and have been condemned in 14 states and in the federal system. About half of these are from Mexico. Granted, we should have told the nearest Mexican consul about Torres earlier than we did, but it is not suggested that his trials were defective. The common argument that a foreigner needs special help because of his incapacity to understand the language is certainly not here relevant, inasmuch as Torres has lived in America since he was five years old.

The proposition that the lateness in apprising the Mexican consul of the proceedings is sufficient reason to invalidate them is anarchical in its implications. The *New York Times* reports that Catherine W. Brown of the State Department told the international court last month that "asking more of the United States was unreasonable. 'As a practical matter, a country the size of the United States would never have accepted an obligation that would have put the ordinary conduct of criminal investigations and public safety at jeopardy.'" Ms. Brown was saying that the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, if it had the effect of freezing prosecutions, could immobilize justice. Arguing in The Hague, U.S. lawyers said that Mexico's demands were "an unjustified, unwise, and ultimately unacceptable intrusion into the United States criminal justice system."

There is a further point to consider. We are bound, by the Constitution, to give preeminence to treaties. However, the passion underlying the Torres case really has nothing to do with procedural protocols; it is a question of life and death. The Mexican government abolished capital punishment some time before it apprehended, in 1940, Trotsky's assassin, who was free 20 years later. It is a tendency of countries that have abolished capital punishment to think themselves wardens of a moral afflatus that entitles them to treat with contempt those who still believe in the ultimate penalty. What can be thought of as moral encirclement is in progress. The International Court at The Hague is the judicial enforcer of a pretty extensive list of human rights, which includes the right of children not to be spanked by their mother.

The act of courtesy by the State of Oklahoma has the very direct effect of putting off the execution of Osbaldo Torres and of American justice. It has the further effect, psychologically, of superordinating the international court's idea of justice over that of Americans, who wish to make their own laws, which call, this time around, for the execution of Osbaldo Torres.

The Enlarging al-Qaeda Front

GSTAAD, FEBRUARY 10

IF President Bush had had in hand the now-famous letter to the al-Qaeda leaders urging civil war in Iraq, would that have helped him in his encounter with Tim Russert on *Meet the Press*? Or for that matter, in his encounter with John Kerry later on this year in the presidential debates? The 17-page letter, presumed authentic, urges the al-Qaeda leadership in Afghanistan to act through its operatives in Iraq, directing them to mobilize Shiite hostilities with the end of bringing on a civil war. There was an aside in that letter touching on the American role in Iraq. The Americans, the Islamic fundamentalist notes, are easy targets. However, "America has no intention of leaving, no matter how many wounded nor how bloody it becomes."

Mr. Bush would certainly have cited the letter as further documentation that the problem we face extends beyond what was once supposed to be nothing more than vindictive twitches by Saddam loyalists. The author of the letter proudly asserts that "he"—his unit of the fundamentalist resistance—can proudly take credit for 25 suicide bombers. Mr. Bush might have stressed that what Saddam Hussein had generated was perhaps not weapons of mass destruction measured in atoms or viruses or ricin, but weapons measured in a fanatical devotion to a cause. Muslim fundamentalism.

We are learning once again that a lesson in recent world history tells us that terrorist activity can succeed. One can say that eventually, as in the Philippines, it is overcome. That here and there it is carried on resulting in standstills, as in Israel. But there is always the prospect of winning, as in Cuba under Castro.

The al-Qaeda postulant correctly says that there is no prospect of a U.S. removal of our forces in Iraq, and Mr. Bush reiterated that so often as to give the impression that he wants Candidate Kerry to bounce off the same question: Is retreat conceivable? Likely?

The success of the terrorists in Iraq can be measured in political units. Every day we are told by the pollsters that if the

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presidential race were run tomorrow, Bush vs. Kerry, its outcome cannot be predicted, so close are the numbers.

That closeness is a clear-cut victory achieved by terrorism in Iraq. If the terrorists had been overcome and Iraq tranquilized, is it imaginable that Democratic critics would have asked that Bush be run out of office because of his foreign policy? On the grounds that his war cost over a hundred American lives?

But the terrorists have augmented that figure. It was 138 when the military war ended. It is over 500 today. And this is the burgeoning figure to which the politicians will draw attention. Their indictment to the effect that we entered into a war without an imperative reason to do so. And then that we conceived the challenge so maladroitly that we can now be said to be in Iraq not to win a military victory there (that was easy, and done quickly) but to see whether we can overcome the terrorists. What the enemy wants, the intercepted letter confirms, is a civil war.

Mr. Bush told Mr. Russert that the terrorists were protesting the prospect of peace and freedom. It seems strange to tie bombs around your torso and charge into innocent civilians in order to further the defeat of freedom. But the only thing Mr. Bush can come up with is—success. There is, conceptually, the marginal terrorist: After he is struck down, the movement withers. What Mr. Bush needs is evidence that we are moving in the direction of the marginal terrorist, because there is evidence on the other side, that the terrorists are begetting more terrorists.

Mr. Bush has acquired a rhetorical side that offends critics of his policies. "I'm a war president. I make decisions here in the Oval Office in foreign policy matters with war on my mind." But combating terrorists is a different challenge, and Mr. Bush hasn't met it, and the Democrats sense this and say it to the pollsters.

The Beacon Hill Nightmare

GSTAAD, FEBRUARY 13

THE story of Sen. John Kerry's mortgaged home in Beacon Hill is worth looking at. What made the papers was the suggestion that his access to it, in usufruct, was threatened by the sheer size of the loan and the attendant obligations of financing it. All of this, of course, in the context of his need for money to finance the ongoing campaign for the presidency.

There are several perspectives one needs in order to evaluate the problem of Mr. Kerry's mortgage. The first, of course, is that if you own a house valuable enough to warrant a loan of $6 million, you are living, by common standards, in an economic stratosphere, the implications of which require adjusting to normal standards of evaluation. If you hock the Hope Diamond for $10 million, attention focuses on your owing $10 million whereas, properly, it should focus on your owning the Hope Diamond.

Sen. Kerry's widely publicized point is that he has had to finance his campaign by using his own resources, which are limited. But of course that is Hope Diamond talk. If a bank lends you $6 million, it knows it's going to get the money back.

How? Well, Sen. Kerry is not wealthy, but he does have undisclosed assets. That is, assets undisclosed to the public, but not to the bank. All the bank needs is approximately $200,000 per year in interest payments, which is a little more than Sen. Kerry's income as a senator.

Where else would the bankers look, if they thought themselves threatened? Well, of course, to the property on which the loan was made, namely the house on Beacon Hill. There is a difficulty, which is that the house is jointly owned by Mr. Kerry and his wife. She has to be careful, even though she made out a prenuptial agreement with John. If he divorced her, one assumes, she would keep the house, to say nothing of her fortune.

Bear this poignancy in mind, that Mrs. Kerry is not permitted, under the law, to give Mr. Kerry more than $2,000 when he is running for office. Now some may classify this as a problem of the idle rich. But this would be flippant. It is a big enough story of a human plight, to make the press worldwide.

Now pity for Mr. Kerry is immediately evoked by the circumstances of the mortgage. It is not as if he was taking $6 million to buy himself a G-V jet. No, he was using $6 million to pay his campaign staff and take out ads, all of this in anticipation of the returns in Iowa and New Hampshire. It added up to this, that returns from his campaign weren't large enough to satisfy his inclination to advance the cause of the campaign by additional advertising.

Now if he had lost out in Iowa, he'd have needed to reduce spending, which would have given his most resolute backers a challenge, namely to continue to support John Kerry at least to the point of giving him back his home on Beacon Hill. But if he did well in Iowa, as indeed he did, everybody could assume that the flow of money would not only continue, but increase. The publicity attached to the mortgage can only have served the cause of alerting his donors to the need to save not only the nation, but the house.

This is because current law denies to a candidate the right to repay past loans from money that comes in after the operative political date (in this case, the national convention in July). After that, you can only use $250,000 of campaign contributions to repay old debts, and $250,000 comes to only a little over one year's interest on the Beacon Hill loan.

So it has to be cleared up before then, Kerry supporters are being told.

Campaigning for president in 1956, Adlai Stevenson crossed his legs while sitting on the dais, waiting to give his speech, and a photographer shot a picture of his shoe. Lo!—there was a hole in his shoe.

That shoe with the hole became a talisman of Stevenson for President. Tiny replicas were made to pin on to your lapel. What it said was: Vote for this man who, though so straitened as not to be able to afford to repair his shoes, walks on day after day, wearing out life's shoe leather, in the cause of America.

Get it?

John Kerry for President devoutly hopes you do.

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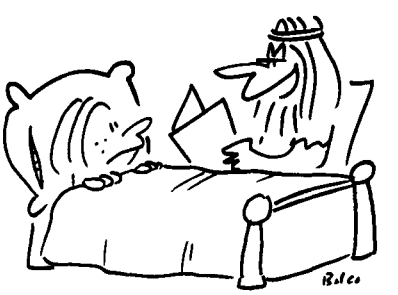

". . . And the Papa Bear said, 'Whoa, dude! —someone's been smoking my stash . . .'"

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happy warrior

MARK STEYN

Conan, a Barbarian?

THE other day I settled down with a copy of the *Toronto Star*, the Great White North's biggest-selling newspaper, and here's what I read: "As the United States descends into fascism, the importance of Canada, North America's only civil society, is greater than ever."

Thus the opening sentence of an article by Christopher Hume. Mr. Hume doesn't write about politics or global affairs. He's the architecture correspondent.

Any American abroad comes across similar sentiments every day of the week—in a theater review in Australia, the sports page in Ireland, the gardening-tips column in Belgium. But Mr. Hume's intro had a particular piquancy because he was writing about the "sense of openness and welcome" of the new plaza on the Canadian side of the Peace Bridge between Fort Erie, Ontario, and Buffalo, N.Y. He didn't mention it, but the Peace Bridge is so named because, when it was opened in 1927 by the Prince of Wales and Vice President Dawes, it marked a century of peace between the U.S. and Canada since the War of 1812. It is, therefore, a monument to shared assumptions. Charles Gates Dawes, before achieving the obscurity of the vice presidency, was the composer of an engaging little tune subsequently recorded by Nat "King" Cole and others:

"Many a tear has to fall
But It's All
In The Game . . ."

Very true. And as Nat went on to observe:

"You have words with him
And your future's looking dim
But these things your heart can rise above . . ."

When one reads, in a discussion of traffic-booth design, that the United States is descending into fascism and Canada is North America's only civil society, one's heart is naturally inclined to rise above, to regard this as one of the many insignificant tears that fall in the enduring game between two longstanding friends. But, when such teardrops fall every single day, you start to wonder whether it's not something toxic in the air.

I would bet, for example, that the *Toronto Star* receives barely a murmur of objection from the Canadian public about that opening sentence, any more than A-list imams doing Friday prayers live on Arab state TV and radio are bombarded with complaints when they urge listeners to "kill all the Jews and Christians." In both cases, it's part of the wallpaper.

Dog Bites Quebec

When Mr. Hume calls America "fascist," he's not talking about the administration's policy on, say, health care, which is heading in an alarmingly Canadian direction. He means that America is sufficiently Neanderthal to have roused itself in its defense and overthrown two regimes, both of which, as it happens, were objectively fascist. The Taliban's most famous intervention in aesthetic matters was its detonation of those two ancient stone Buddhas. Its main architectural innovation was the purpose-built wall under which homosexuals were crushed to death. But no matter how many gays were buried in such fashion it wouldn't add up to the threat Bush poses to the world by being so crude as to do something about it.

Canadians and Americans are a lot more foreign to each other than they were back in 1927, when His Royal Highness and the vice president cut the ribbon. One of the most telling differences is not socialized medicine or gun control but the thickness of our respective skins. When Mr. Hume calls Americans fascists, nobody in America cares because nobody notices. When Conan O'Brien's hand-puppet sidekick Triumph the Insult Comic Dog goes to Quebec's Winter Carnival and insults Quebeckers, questions are raised in parliament and the dog is denounced as "hateful" and "racist."

He's not a real dog, of course. He's a hand puppet. The sight of a G7 nation locked in mortal combat with a hand puppet is somewhat bewildering. Especially when the hand puppet's foray into Quebec is an all-expenses-paid trip courtesy of Canadian taxpayers. Governments both federal and provincial gave Conan and the dog a million bucks to come to Canada to boost tourism post-SARS. Say what you like about the Trojans but when they wheeled that big wooden horse inside the gates at least they hadn't wired the Greeks a cool million for it.

Still, perhaps it was a good idea. Perhaps there's a survey somewhere proving that Americans book their vacations based on the location broadcasts of late-night TV hosts. But if it's unreasonable to expect Canadians to do what Americans are supposed to do when their country's insulted—shrug it off—we ought at least to draw a few lessons about the limits of a shared "culture." The old Soviet Union spent a fortune jamming foreign radio transmitters to ensure their people remained in ignorance about America. It didn't work. The Canadian government simply contracts the operation to ABC, CBS, NBC, and Hollywood, and it works just fine. Canadians watch the same talk shows, sitcoms, and movies as Americans; they read the same reviews of those movies—Roger Ebert's carried in pretty much every paper north of the border. And yet on everything that really matters—which, no disrespect, Cameron Diaz doesn't—Canadians and Americans are more foreign than ever. **NR**

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It Is Time To Act On Teacher Quality

Kurt M. Landgraf,
President & CEO, ETS

"...our nation is at a crossroads. We will not continue to lead if we persist in viewing teaching — the profession that makes all other professions possible — as a second-rate occupation."

This warning comes from the recent report of the Teaching Commission. At ETS, we take that warning seriously.

Everything we are doing in the area of teacher quality starts with the belief that good teachers produce good students. Good teaching requires that both new and experienced teachers possess:

- thorough content knowledge
- knowledge of pedagogy
- demonstrated teaching skills

The formula for creating a highly qualified teaching force is neither secret nor complicated. It starts with rigorous standards for teacher preparation and licensure, and it continues with effective, sustained professional development throughout a career. And, to be as successful as we must be, we also need to look seriously at alternative school-staffing patterns and differentiated pay.

Unfortunately, the requirements for entry into the teaching profession are often too low. For example, only half of the country's teacher education institutions meet national accreditation standards. They all should. An ETS study, "Preparing Teachers Around the World," found that countries with high-performing schools also have high, strictly regulated standards for licensure. This is not accidental. No doubt, higher entry standards to the profession will also drive improvements in teacher preparation.

To ensure that teaching methods align with standards and curricula, teachers need more effective, ongoing professional development. School administrators play a critical role in this. They must sharpen their own skills as well.

On compensation and retention, the Teaching Commission argued: "Money matters." Public opinion research conducted for ETS confirms that Americans support higher teacher salaries even if it means paying higher taxes. Better pay will attract more highly skilled candidates to the profession, particularly to underserved and understaffed locations, subjects and specialties.

We must summon the political will to do whatever is necessary to ensure that every child in America is taught by a well-trained, well-qualified and well-compensated teacher.

ETS is committed to doing its part. Our partnership with the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education is setting national benchmarks for licensure tests. Our Recognition of Excellence award provides an incentive for candidates to excel on their licensure exams. And our Praxis Study Guides help candidates do their best on the tests, while our Diagnostic Preparation Program helps them improve their scores.

Where teacher quality is concerned, we're listening to educators, parents and policy-makers. We're learning from sound research. And we're leading the effort to achieve both informed public policy and informed educational practice.

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Continue the conversation. Log on. Let's talk. www.ets.org/letstalk1.html

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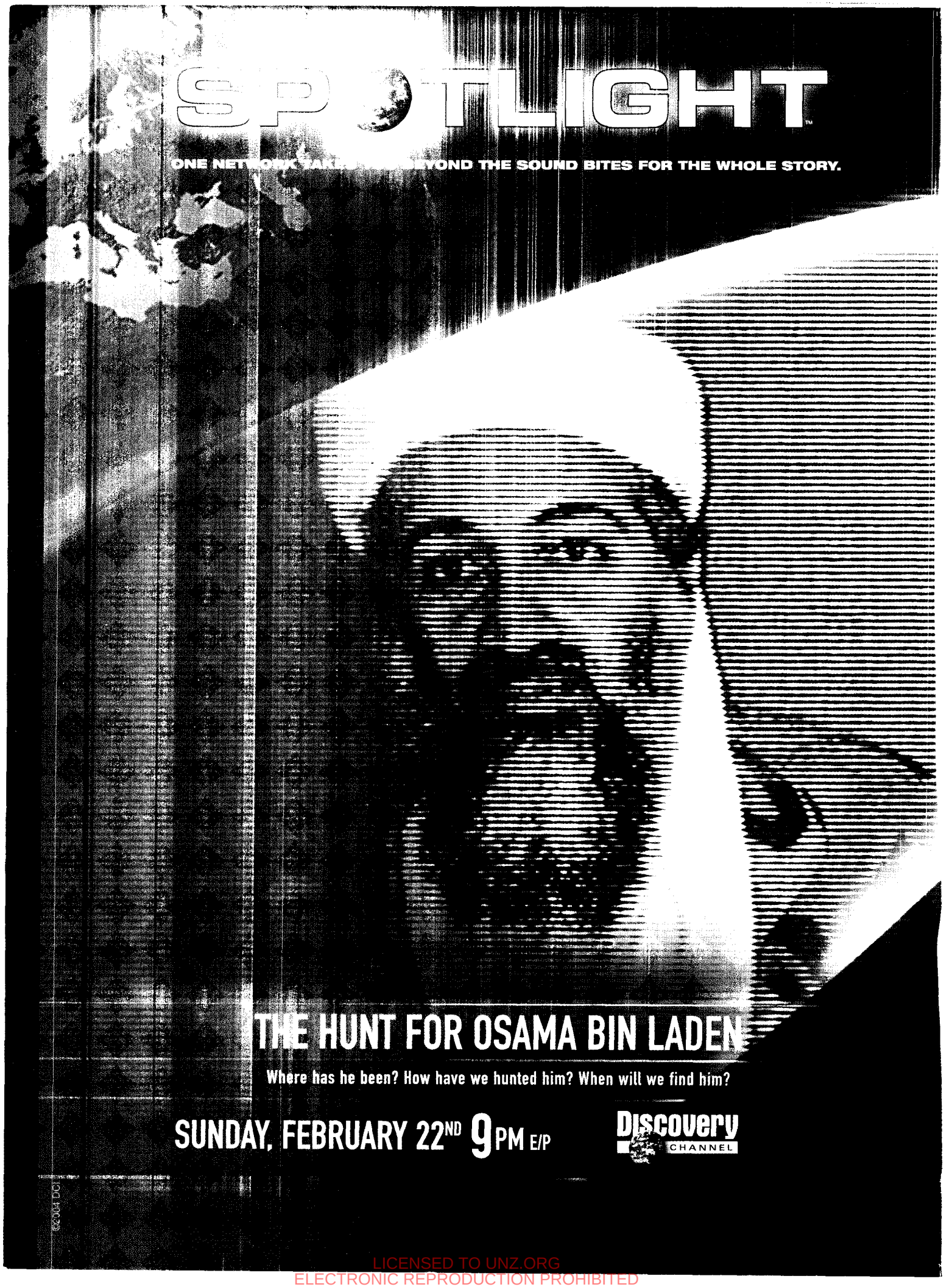
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